

EASTERN WORLD



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INDIA - FAR EAST - PACIFIC

The Fight of The Indonesian People

by

M. ALI

The Turis of The Kurram

by

Maj.-Gen. T. R. HARTWELL, C.B., D.S.O.

The Projected Exhibition of Indian Art

by

Sir RICHARD WINSTEDT, K.B.E., C.M.G., F.B.A., D.Litt.

Australia and Antarctic Whaling

by

THOMAS DUNBABIN

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EASTERN WORLD

BURMA ASSASSINATIONS.

The tragic news of the cold-blooded murder of U Aung San and six of his colleagues was received in London with genuine grief and consternation. Our sympathy goes out to the young widows and their children. U Aung San's marriage was a love match. His wife nursed him when he lay wounded in hospital during the war, and the marriage took place much against the wish of the Japanese High Command. They had four children.

What the brutal outrage tried to achieve is still not clear, for U Aung San's personal popularity was immense, the Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League firmly in power, there was no hope of a successful *coup d'état* and the country's policy had been determined to such a degree that even this brutal outrage will not change it. It is, perhaps, safe to connect the event with the general crime wave in Burma. The latest figures show that there were 175 murders and 1,336 robberies committed in the country during June, which meant, however, an improvement on the May figures which include 287 murders.

INDONESIA.

The Dutch action in Indonesia has shocked the world. After a seven-week crisis there must have still existed some solution by diplomatic means. Three days before the renewed outbreak of hostilities, the Indonesian Premier Dr. Sjarifuddin declared his Government's preparedness to order the cessation of all unfriendly acts against the Dutch. Whatever provocation may have been given to the Dutch by the more extremist elements in Jogjakarta, it was clear that the young Indonesian Government had to overcome difficulties in its own ranks similar to those facing the Dutch from certain quarters in the Hague. President Dr. Soekarno's broadcast early in July was conciliatory enough and indicated the desire

amongst responsible Indonesian circles to go a long way to meet the Netherlands demands. He guaranteed to open Indonesia for capital and work from abroad. That the inclusion of Netherland troops in the police force of Java and Sumatra remained unacceptable to the Indonesians does not seem to justify the action of the Dutch, who are members of the United Nations. It seems inexplicable that they should leave the appeal to U.N. to Dr. Soekarno, whose Government is not a member state.

It cannot be predicted at the time of writing what repercussions the Netherlands action will have among the Asiatic nations, but it seems certain that India and others will do what they can to rally to the support of the Indonesians, and so, for that matter, will others, as can be seen by the Australian dockers' decision to ban the loading of Dutch ships. It is also clear that the world's food position will suffer. The British Minister of Food, Mr. Strachey, stressed Indonesia's great importance as a fat and sugar supplier, and her tea exports as the key to world tea supplies. The offer of British and American mediation is still open. We hope that use will be made of it, though it will be much more difficult to come to genuine terms after what has happened.

THE NEW DOMINIONS.

The universal welcome extended to the Indian Independence Bill was a good omen for the future collaboration between Britain and the two new independent Dominions, and August 15th, when the actual transfer takes place, will be added to the great dates in history. The Bill, as well as the spirit under which it has been put into effect, is nothing less than a great personal triumph for Lord Mountbatten, whose astounding qualities could not have found a higher appreciation by the Indian leaders than their agreement to choose him for his present position as Governor-General for India and as chairman of the Joint Defence Council which administers the armed forces until their partition is completed.

There is no doubt that the Dominion status is considered by some Indians as a purely temporary affair, but it is to be hoped that the obvious advantages of remaining in the British

Commonwealth of Nations, as absolutely equal partners with its other members, will not be overlooked. Pakistan especially, being responsible for the defence of the North West Frontier Province from any quarter, could not possibly bear this burden herself. As a Dominion she has the backing of the strength of the British Commonwealth. Both new states have large-scale social and economic reform plans which will be more easily realised without any unduly heavy defence budgets.

The tension over the States has definitely eased, and Mr. Sardar Patel's statement early last month has been a remarkable contribution towards the peaceful development of this question. Announcing the establishment of a special department of the Indian Government to conduct relationship with the States, he cleared the atmosphere by saying: "The States have already accepted the basic principle that for Defence, Foreign Affairs and Communications they would come into the Indian Union. We ask no more of them than the accession on these three subjects, in which the common interests of the country are involved. In other matters we would scrupulously respect their autonomous existence." Moreover, even those States which have declared their independence, have not done so finally. It is believed that, after a temporary detachment, they will observe the developments within the new Dominions before they reconsider their decision.

AFGHAN CLAIM.

First troubles for Pakistan will probably come from the North West Frontier Province, which in the recent referendum voted to join that Dominion. Yet only slightly over half the electorate went to the polls, the remainder probably hoping for the "Red Shirt" dream of a separate Pathanistan which is said to have the support of Mr. Gandhi. Even from Waziristan news comes about the intention to set up an independent Kingdom. Yet all these plans are as futile as the Afghan demand for the territory between the Durand Line and the Indus. The latter ill-advised step, had it been pressed, might have led to an international crisis of considerable significance.*

* See article on page 6.

JAPAN AND THE COMMONWEALTH.

The Canberra Conference will open on August 26th. Its object is to co-ordinate the views of those Commonwealth nations attending the Japanese Peace Conference which meets in September. The Far Eastern Commission announced last month its approval of the fundamental principles of the present policy for Japan, including complete demilitarisation and disarmament and the encouragement of the Japanese people to form democratic and representative organisations. The Commission also stated that "Japan shall be permitted to maintain such industries as will sustain her economy and permit exaction of just reparations in kind, but not those which would enable her to rearm for war."

It is most desirable that the Commonwealth should speak with one voice. We want a Peace Treaty which will afford a reasonable standard of life for the Japanese without at the same time a flood of cheap Japanese goods in the rest of the world to the ruination of other nations' trade and the lowering of the standard of living in competitor countries. Japan's trade must be carefully planned as an integral part of world economy.

Obviously, Allied responsibility does not end after the signing of the Peace Treaty. Some kind of effective non-military international control will be necessary, otherwise the new democratic institutions and the new conception of individual freedom will soon fall victim to the old reactionary cliques. This administrative control, which will fall either to the 11 members of the Far Eastern Commission or, as suggested by General MacArthur, to the United Nations, may have to last for one generation. The Commonwealth has a great part to play in Japan as well as in the rest of the Far East. We can offer goods, we can offer ideas. We must show Japan and other oriental nations how these ideas can be carried out. This is where Hong Kong and Singapore come in. They should be shopwindows of democracy where our ideas are exhibited in practical ways.

MOBILISATION IN CHINA

The situation in China has passed the stage where mediation seems possible, at least as long as outside help, not

enough for reconstruction, but just enough to keep the civil war going, continues to pour into the country. Both parties are making frantic efforts to bring about a decision, but it is a decision by arms rather than by conciliation. Reluctantly one comes to the conclusion that China will obtain peace only by the defeat of one party or by the exhaustion of both. The Communists declare that, as they have already annihilated 100 of the original 226 Kuomintang brigades, they see no reason why they should not beat the rest within the coming few months.

President Chiang Kai-shek appears less optimistic. His call for a general mobilisation was accepted by the State Council last month, and concrete plans are now being drafted by the Executive Yuan to put it into operation, calculating that it will take three years to suppress the "Communist rebellion." The President declared that his Government had hitherto adhered to a policy of political settlement, but the Communists had proved to be an armed, rebellious group rather than a political party. This prevented the realisation of a policy of political settlement. He also announced that steps were to be taken to accelerate economic reconstruction, to improve the food and industrial position and for the maintenance of social order. These latter constructive plans indicate that Chiang Kai-shek realises that he will have to make life under his regime more attractive if he wants popular support for his policy. His order for the arrest of the Communist leader Mao Tse-tung, who directs the Communist troops, is slightly pathetic. First catch your hare, then eat it.

CHINESE WORKERS AND FARMERS.

The World Federation of Trade Unions has now recognised the C.A.L. as the only bona fide trade union centre in China. The General Council of the W.F.T.U. declared in the Resolution of the Executive Bureau on the 14th June, that the workers of China have earned with their blood the democratic rights of Trade Unionists and declared that it would support them in the struggle for the vindication of these rights. It is significant that the headquarters of the C.A.L. are now in Hong Kong. The programme of the C.A.L. endorsed by

the W.F.T.U. includes the following:

- (a) Unity of all Chinese Workers throughout China in a single organisation, without regard to political barriers or differences.
- (b) The right of all workers freely to organise themselves into Trade Unions, with recognition of their right to hold public meetings, bargain collectively, strike, and engage in all other normal Trade Union activities.
- (c) Complete non-interference by the government in the internal affairs of Trade Unions.
- (d) Realisation of fundamental economic and human rights.

No such attention has up to now been paid to the peasants in China, who, for the first time in history, are leaving their land to try and earn a living elsewhere. Before, when times were bad, they reduced their standards of living. Now taxation is so high that they can no longer make a living off their farms and are abandoning them. Fighting during the planting season has led to great areas lying fallow. The famine that all this will cause will defy relief and for this famine it is no use blaming nature—it is man made.

I.P.R. CONFERENCE.

The Institute of Pacific Relations will be holding its Tenth International Conference at Stratford-on-Avon in September. The main topics of discussion will be Allied policy in Japan and its effects, economic and social reconstruction in the Pacific and Dependencies and Trusteeship in the Pacific. Delegates are coming from most countries interested in the Pacific including a strong team, mostly of professors, from the U.S. This will be an important conference coming at a turning point in the history of the Pacific.

Believing in the freedom of the press, this journal represents a forum where articles containing many different, and often controversial opinions are being published. They do not necessarily express the views or policy of the paper.

AFGHANISTAN - The problem of the Tribes

by Lt-Col. Sir Kerr Fraser-Tytler, K.B.E., C.M.G., M.C.

IT is safe to say that events have fully justified the prescience or the good fortune of those who, in 1880, preferred to put their faith in the buffer State rather than to embark on the unjust and costly operation of pushing forward the boundaries of India till they met the Russians on the Hindu Kush. At the same time it must be realised that when, in 1880, the British refused to obey natural laws and to secure their position right up to their true frontier, they raised for themselves a problem which has defied solution ever since.

For Abdur Rahman, while proving to be a staunch ally, turned out also to be a most uncomfortable neighbour. He was quite prepared to allow the British Government to conduct his foreign affairs on the northern and western frontiers of Afghanistan; at the same time he did his utmost to extend his influence among the Pathan tribes on his eastern and southern borders. He was himself a Pathan, and the frontier tribes were his kinsmen and co-religionists. His action in endeavouring to draw them into his orbit was, therefore, both logical and natural. But many of the tribes lived on or within the British administered border, and Abdur Rahman's endeavours to win their allegiance soon became an intolerable nuisance. In 1893, Sir Mortimer Durand, the Foreign Secretary of the Government of India, was sent to Kabul to negotiate, among other things, the establishment of a line beyond which the Amir's influence should not extend. Abdur Rahman agreed without much difficulty to the proposed line, which is now known as the Durand Line.

But the establishment and subsequent partial demarcation of this line did not lead to stability on the Indo-Afghan frontier. It was, perhaps, the best line which could be devised in the circumstances, but it was a frontier within a frontier. In consequence it violated nearly every law of frontiers; it was not sound strategically and it cut the Pathan nation in two and even divided tribes.

Moreover, it raised a dual problem which has led to endless controversy, and to constant friction between the British and Afghan Governments. For while we were, on the one hand, naturally anxious to see the buffer State stable, friendly and strong from the point of view of self interest, if for no other, we were at the same time impelled by the vicissitudes of the tribal problem within our own borders, on many occasions, to take action which usually exasperated and sometimes endangered the stability of the Afghan Government. Nor did the attainment by Afghanistan of full sovereignty in 1919 lead to an improvement in the tribal situation.

The demand that the foreign affairs of the Afghan State should no longer be subject to British control came at a moment when, at the close of the first World War, a spirit of national consciousness was pervading the Orient. It then became patent to British statesmen that the limitation imposed in 1880 by the British Government on the full freedom of the Afghan people could no longer be maintained. These controls had served their purpose.

They had permitted the British to place the full weight of their power and prestige in the scales of Central Asian politics, and thus to stabilise the situation without bloodshed, while maintaining Afghanistan intact. But they were no longer in keeping with the spirit of the times, and when in 1919, Amanullah, grandson of Abdur Rahman, demanded full freedom to conduct his foreign relations, his request was granted, and Afghanistan joined the comity of nations.

But the assumption of full sovereignty by the Afghan Government carried with it as a corollary an increased measure of responsibility for the maintenance of peace and good relations along their borders. On the Indo-Afghan border Amanullah failed to discharge this responsibility or even to recognise that such responsibility existed. His position was, however, extremely difficult, for while on the Indian side of the border the tribal problem, though frequently a nuisance to the British Government of India, has never been more than a local question, on the Afghan side the tribes were, and still are, at any moment liable to endanger the stability of the State, if not to undermine it altogether. It requires both strength and statesmanship to rule the tribes, and Amanullah had neither. It was hardly to be expected, therefore, that a man of so weak and unbalanced a nature would be able to improve the situation along the border, and, in fact, he made no attempt to do so.

In other respects, too, Amanullah was not the man to guide his people along a path of peaceful progress, or to estimate correctly the pace at which such progress should proceed. Many of his ideas were sound, but he lacked not only the balance required to calculate what measures of reform were feasible in relation to the spirit of his people, but also the gift of choosing advisers to warn him of the dangers which might lie ahead. He neglected his army and ignored the requirements of national economy while, at the same time, he exasperated his fanatical and backward subjects with ill-advised attempts to accelerate the pace of reform.

In 1924, a tribal rising in the Southern Provinces seriously weakened the fabric of the State. In 1928, on his return from a tour in Europe, the King placed before his outraged subjects measures of reform which, though based on his experiences abroad, were totally unsuited to the temper or the traditions of the Afghan people, and a few months later a simultaneous rebellion of some of the major tribes forced Amanullah to abdicate. After a brief attempt to regain his position, he fled the country and took refuge in Italy. For nine months, a brigand, the Bachcha-i-Saqao (Son of the Water Carrier) held possession of Kabul and precarious control of most of the rest of the country.

Such a regime, however, contained no elements of permanence, and it was fortunate for the future of Afghanistan and for the peace of Asia that there was a man ready to hand and capable of assuming control of a country exasperated by misrule and convulsed by revolution.

(The author deals with the modern Afghan Kingdom in our next issue).

THE TURIS OF THE KURRAM

An Indian Detail

by Maj.-Gen. J. R. Hartwell, C.B., D.S.O.

ON the huge canvas of Indian dissension, the foreground is so entangled with the larger issues of Moslem-Hindu, the States, the Scheduled classes, Pathanistan, and "what will the Sikhs do now, poor things?" that details in the background are very generally obscured altogether. To which an already bewildered public will no doubt most cordially say "and a good thing, too." But nevertheless it may be of interest to take a closer look at some of this background and see what sort of "creepy-crawlies" are lurking there, and whether their existence is or is not satisfactory to our once-Imperial conscience.

To a large percentage of Britons, whose interest in India's problems began when Indian independence became an immediate issue, a Moslem is a Moslem, tout court, and such dissensions as exist between them are of a purely political nature, even if it proves difficult to understand the "Frontier Gandhi" and his Redshirts, or lesser problems in which Moslem discord appears. But such a view is, in fact, little less wide of the mark than it would be to ignore, on the score that all concerned professed themselves Christian, the Inquisition's persecution of the Lutheran or St. Bartholomew's Eve.

The followers of the Prophet are sharply divided into two main sects, the Sunni and the Shiah, of which the former predominates on the North-West Frontier of India, and between the two there is no love whatever to lose. Where the two sects exist in compact geographical blocks, as for example the Shiahs of Persia, there is comparatively little likelihood of major trouble: where they are intermingled, with the Shiah in the minority, the likelihood is lively: where a Shiah minority inhabit a Naboth's vineyard, trouble is certain if practical steps are not taken by a neutral party to prevent it. It is of such a Shiah minority that this article largely tells.

Leaving Peshawar by the great Frontier Road which links that city with Bannu and beyond, one is soon passing through tribal territory scarred here and there at most seasons with the remains of burnt-out and levelled villages, grim enough reminders that the blood-feud flourishes more or less unchecked in tribal areas, but brings a summary punishment should it spew out across the Road itself, endangering its safety. Soon after passing the tribal small arms factory, where an Adam Rhel gunsmith will be proud to show you all stages in the manufacture of a rifle which may have you along the sights in the not-distant future, the Road climbs steeply to the Kohat pass, with its armed police post and gateway memorial to the Pathans' lack of abiding appreciation for those whose lives are spent, and so often given, in their best interests. Immediately below you lies Kohat, unseen itself under cover of its fine trees, which contrast so strongly with the further landscape as

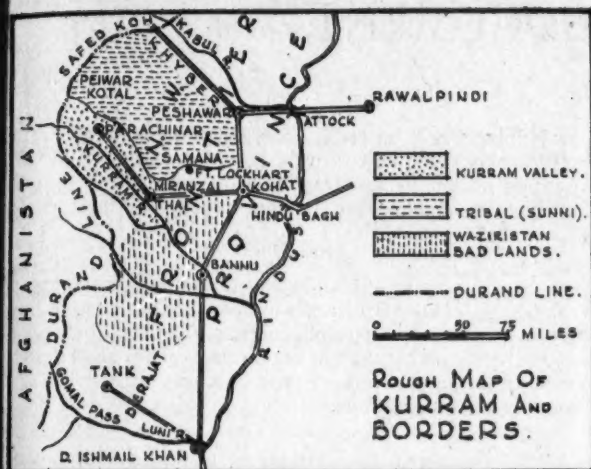
the eye lifts towards Bannu and the beginning of the real Bad Lands, that jumble of arid hills that edge Waziristan, and, being roadless, almost trackless, and largely unnegotiable even by the Frontier Forces' friend, the mule, as the ultimate refuge of the more desperately "wanted" scallywag, and an admirable base for further tip and run raids on The Road or the Miranzai valley. But the contrast is significant, since Kohat lies at the foot of the Miranzai valley itself and is the first promise of an approach to one of those Naboth's vineyards to which reference has been made. Along the valley runs a military road and a narrow gauge railway, flanked by Fort Lockhart and the Samana, through Hangu to the military outpost of Thal, where the Miranzai and Kurram valleys converge and where a few miles out from Thal the Kurram Agency begins.

From this point the Kurram valley is mainly populated, and completely dominated, by the Turis of the Shiah sect of Islam. They form, with the periodical introduction of a small contingent of Mongals, the body of the Kurram Frontier Militia, and the efficiency with which their watch and ward duties have for many years been carried out has failed to endear them to the Sunni clans by which they are surrounded up to and beyond the Durand* line on the right bank of the Kurram river, or to the Oraksais, Parachamkanis, and other decidedly fanatical Sunni Khels on the other. In the Indian picture, so far as we can see into it, what are the chances, and what the conditions, of a Tur survival?

With the N.W.F. "referendum" in the immediate offing as this is written, prophecy is perhaps rash, but it is probably fairly safe to say that Sirdir Abdul Gaffar Khan's "Pathanistan" will not materialise in the immediate future and on the firm assumption that the referendum is confined to British India alone, and that the administered areas are not invited to express their opinion. At the same time, and it has a definite relation to our main subject, as will appear, two things must be remembered.

First, there is definitely no love lost between the Frontier Pathan and his Punjabi Mussalman cousin and, secondly, that reports in the British press of the "Jirgah" held by Lord Mountbatten in the Khyber tended to create an impression which, in the event, may prove entirely erroneous, namely that, while the Tribes definitely would have no truck with a Congress India, everything in the garden would be lovely when, and if, came the dawn of Pakistan. In the present writer's opinion, nothing could be further from the probabilities: however successfully the N.W.F. province and the Punjab may or may not amalgamate in a Pakistan state, the Tribes will none the less

* See article p.5.



claim control of the frontier passes, and if Mr. Jinnah's professed dislike for detail blinds him to a preconsideration of the problems of the Malakand, the Khyber, the Kurram, and the Derajat, he will shortly be working overtime to find solutions.

These problems are not primarily those of external aggression: indeed, whatever the immediate or ultimate relations between the Tribal areas and Pakistan may prove to be, the mere existence of the latter should ensure a closing of the Moslem ranks, against foreign advance in a manner which could not always entirely be relied upon under the British domination. But it seems as certain as anything can be in the Indian puzzle that Mr. Jinnah will be faced with, is in fact faced with at this moment, the same problem that has confronted the British ever since they crossed the Indus—how to subsist the Tribal wolves and at the same time be the good shepherd to the lowland lambs. If he has not the "details" of this solution to hand ready for immediate application, the sooner he accepts the Indus as the Pakistan frontier line the better.

It is probably entirely untrue that tribal incursions across the administrative border in the past have been actuated in fact by any dislike of British domination as such; the dislike is for domination of any kind effective enough to control such incursions, and of the mildest interference with what they consider their legitimate rights, including that of slitting any throat if benefit accrues, spreading responsibility by adding meanwhile: "In the name of Allah—the Merciful—the Compassionate."

How does all this affect the Turis of the Kurram? What exists in Mr. Jinnah's mind concerning the future, if any, of the Frontier Militias as a whole, is, like so much else therein, at present obscure, and presents a very pretty problem for which there is no space here. The Khyber Rifles, locally recruited, present one problem, the Waziristan and Zhob militias, largely manned from ex-Territorial Pathan and Afridi sources, another.

But the Turis of the Kurram present a special problem of their own, and its solution is pressing. No one who knows them, however superficially, will regard the

Turi in the light of the proverbial lamb. To have ridden with their mounted platoons along the Durand line and seen their scouts fan out to investigate the hostile or "have a go" intent of the casual bullet, or to have tried, along a well worn path, to keep one's *mazri** clothing from turning black with sweat in the biting cold of the wind from off the Safed Koh, while one's escort dances a fandango along a slippery slope that should terrify a goat, is to assure one of that. If ever apparent physical perfection justified Kipling's description of Kamal's son—

"He trod the ling like a buck in Spring

And he looked like a lance in rest"—

you have it in the Turi. True, they are probably a condemned race, one knows. Malaria and interbreeding are shaping to their inevitable end. But must their end come yet, and by the bullet and the knife? For the moment, no doubt, their hands, well armed, can keep their heads. But without strong backing on a par with that they have received under British rule, their fate within a generation is sure.

If Pakistan will and can control the Tribal areas, the Turi is an asset beyond price. Their loyalty, self-interest if you like, to the power that in the long run must ensure their existence and guarantee their homes is undoubted. And the Khyber is by no means the only, nor perhaps the easiest, North Western Gate to India. It is not only the Oraksai who covets the fertile Kurram. Beyond the Durand line subsistence is difficult, and the somewhat ludicrous position is not unknown of the Amir's outposts slipping across the border to revictual themselves peacefully in Parachinar bazaars. Memories are short and much talk of the Khyber has dulled recollection of Lord Roberts and the Peiwar Kotal which stands at the head of the Kurram valley, while generally well-informed students of the Frontier will usually ask "What's that?" of the scarp of Kitchener's survey for a light railway on the Kurram's right bank.

The Kurram is a danger spot for trans-Indus Pakistan. The appetite, they say, comes with eating, and if the adjacent tribes decide that the Kurram is ripe fruit, who can say where the meal will end? Not Mr. Jinnah. And if the recession of Pakistan to the Indus comes from other causes, as well it may, nothing can save the Turis. Well, after all it will mean less corpses than rotted in Bengal last year, and so, perhaps, as suggested, is just a detail of the picture. But a pity, it is thought.

* The local grey cloth, made from the dwarf palm.

The London Institute of World Affairs

Two courses of 24 lectures each, will be held at University College, London, commencing in October.

Dr. C. A. SMITH, ex-president of Commonwealth, will lecture on "The European Tradition and Inter-State Relations", and

Dr. C. ALEXANDROWICZ, of the European Central Inland Transport Organisation, on "International Law".

Fees: Institute Members **15/-** Non-Members **25/-**

Enquiries - Mr. L. C. GREEN, Faculty of Laws, University College

A KAREN DOCUMENT

The following resolution, passed at a meeting of the Karen Association of the Salween District North, was sent to the Prime Minister of Great Britain. We think it interesting to publish the document in its original form, in view of the articles by Lt.-Col. J. Cromarty-Tulloch, D.S.O., and Mr. D. R. Rees-Williams, M.P., in previous issues of this journal.

THIS meeting was specially called as a result of the pro-Burmese evidence given by Saw Lu Lu before the Rees-Williams Committee. The lateness of the submission of this report is due to these reasons: besides being mountainous, Salween District has no postal service, no travelling facilities, and no modern means of communication. Thus it takes time to inform the headmen and responsible elders of the Area of the text of Saw Lu Lu's evidence. Some responsible elders, including the undersigned, had rightly objected to the inclusion of four Burmese members in the Frontier Areas Committee of Enquiry. On account of the unproportionate combination of the said committee members (i.e. four Burmese members and one member each from the Shan, the Chin, the Kachin and the Karen communities, which ought not to have been the case) a fair and correct consensus opinion of the Frontier Peoples could not be ascertained.

The Karen of this area refuse to be brought within Ministerial Burma because of the following reasons:—

1. This Area was never conquered by the Burmese and the Mon Kings and was never a part of Burma before the British Rule. In accordance with their tradition handed down from generation to generation they welcomed the coming of the British and after the annexation of Burma they willingly acknowledged the overlordship of the British, not by conquest, but by the free-will of the people through their chiefs. Therefore, in the event that the British transfer powers to the Burmese Government, the Karens of this Area decide to maintain their old political status enjoyed by them before the British Rule.

2. The Karens of this area are mostly animists. In 1942-44, while the Japanese were at the height of their power, these hill Karens never swallowed the propaganda that the Japanese would rule Burma for good and that the British could never stage a come-back to liberate Burma. Unlike scientists, they employed their own methods of calculation to arrive at this fundamental data by reading the "signs of the times" through natural phenomena and by reading the "chicken bones" according to the practices of their ancestral religious observances. Being fanatical in their faith and their confidence in the British as revealed by the above practices, they risked everything

by helping whole-heartedly to organise a big secret organisation behind the line, with the late Major Seagrim, D.S.O., as their leader, by assisting the parachutists, and later on in 1945, by fighting the Japanese openly as members of Force 136.

So far, they have acknowledged no other master except the British. If the British are to desert them, ignoring their great responsibility and obligation to safeguard their rights and privileges, they shall have no other. They shall declare themselves free to work in their own way for the achievement of their aspirations.

3. Assuming that Burma is unified and organised with seventeen million people, she is, if there is no great power like Britain to protect her, helpless against foreign aggression. Thus it serves no purpose if the Karens of this Area were to throw in their lot with the Burmese. This Area is so placed geographically that it has other alternatives to choose for political partners when Burma is no more under the control of the British.

4. The Karens know it definitely, that once Burma is given Dominion Status, her Dominion Government will declare herself to be a separate sovereign unit outside the British Commonwealth of Nations. Thus the Karens of this Area aspire to live in a separate state of their own, where they can have the choice to join or not to join Burma and to be within or without the British Empire.

5. The population of this Area is exclusively Karen. There are no Shans and no Burmese. Burmese language is not spoken or understood. The majority of the inhabitants (except those who have been to the plains) have never seen a Burmese or heard the language spoken. The whole atmosphere is typically Karen. They went through a series of hardships during the war and they attributed it to the treachery of the Burmese. They shall never forgive and forget the murdering of the Karen elders and the raping of their womenfolk in Papun, in 1942. Because of these reasons they refuse to identify themselves as members of Burma Proper and to allow Ministerial Burma to extend its administrative jurisdiction over their Area. The most they can agree to, as a trial, is to allow this Area to be a distinct unit within the Federal framework, with full autonomy given to the people.

Attached are the signatures of the Karens of the Area who supported the said resolutions. Many illiterate persons had their names signed by holding the pen.

(signed) SAW M. SHWIN, B.A., B.L.
President, Shwegyin Karen Association.

Shwegyin, 16th June, 1947.

THE FIGHT OF THE INDONESIAN PEOPLE FOR FREEDOM

by M. Ali

(Secretary, Overseas Association of Indonesians and Malaysians).

IT was only after the second world war that Indonesia came into prominence in world affairs. The attention of the world was focused on Indonesia when Mr. Manuilsky, the Ukrainian Foreign Minister, vigorously brought the case of Indonesia before the United Nations Organisation, demanding an International Commission to investigate the actual conditions prevailing in that country at that time.

Prior to the second world war, Indonesia was mostly known to wealth-hunters as "The Dutch East Indies." Investigation proves that the capitalist classes of many nations invested their money all over the islands of Indonesia, and came to possess millions of pounds of vested interests there. From Sumatra and Java especially, foreign capital sent out every year a huge amount of dividends. To students of geography, "The Dutch East Indies" are a land of plenty, with heavy rainfall, fertile with rich mineral resources, and ever green with luxuriant vegetation and flowers throughout the year. Undoubtedly, the land of Indonesia is the richest land in this world. Of the great variety of its tropical products, many are vital for the reconstruction of the devastated countries in Europe. The principal exports are rubber, tea, sugar, tobacco, copra, oil, palm-oil, kapok, sisal, quinine, tin and spices.

Indonesia consists of many hundreds of islands with a total area of 730,000 sq. miles, and a population of 75 millions, about 93 per cent. of whom are Muslims. Communal faction and strife, such as exists in India, does not occur in Indonesia. The lingua franca is the Malay language, which has come to be called "the Indonesian language." Its vocabulary has been enriched by the addition of foreign words, many borrowed from Arabic and from Sanskrit. The Latin script was adopted several decades ago. One result of this has been that the literate Indonesians, men and women, have become very politically-minded and very conscious of their rights. Women in Indonesia have equal rights with men.

To know the history of the Dutch in Indonesia we have to trace back as far as 1602, when they came as traders. Not very long afterwards they succeeded in subjugating the whole of the Indonesian Archipelago. Concerning the cruelties of the Dutch conquest in Indonesia, Sir Stamford Raffles, the founder of Singapore, described it as one of the most brutal examples of massacre and meanness. Both England and Holland had established East India Companies, and their rivalries resulted in the massacre of the English in Amboina (a small island) in 1623.

The Dutch Government adopted the policy of forced labour for many years. The Dutch Colonial Government's system of "Coolie Ordinance" and the "Penal Sanction," under which the coolies were exploited beyond description, was very reminiscent of "Uncle Tom's Cabin." In 1929, the Dutch correspondent of the *Nieuwe Rotter-*

damsche Courant, Dr. Van Blankensteyn, reported the appalling conditions of the coolies in the plantations. The Dutch Government was reluctant to abolish the "Coolie Ordinance," and this inhuman system lasted until 1936, when the United States of America declared it illegal to import into the U.S.A. goods produced by concerns using forced labour. So it was only due to the American law that the Dutch were compelled to abolish the barbarous labour ordinance.

Concerning the policy of the Dutch Colonial Government, Mr. J. F. Scheltema in "Peeps At Many Lands" has written: "Java is the most fertile country in the world, its inhabitants are born husbandmen and yet in this land of plenty, where the scientist's effort ensures the richest harvest, extensive territories are periodically visited by want and famine." The cause of this state of affairs, he continues, has to be sought in a system of colonial exploitation which makes the native raise products for the European market by forced labour; the native is compelled to deliver the products to Government storehouses whence they are shipped to Holland and sold at an enormous profit.

During the 350 years of Dutch rule not a single University was established in Indonesia, with the result that 92 per cent. of the people were illiterate. It was due to the unremitting energy of many Indonesian Societies such as Muhammadiyah, Taman Siswa and Sharikat Islam and other Institutions, that the major percentage of the Indonesians became literate. The literacy of the masses was also due to the great number of Indonesians making pilgrimages to Mecca every year, where they could learn to write and to read, and at the same time broaden their outlook by the contact with various nationals. Freedom of speech, press, organisation, demonstration and assembly did not exist. The right to strike was unknown. No political right of any kind was allowed to the Indonesians. Many rebellions were suppressed by cruel methods.

A great revolt took place in 1825, headed by an Indonesian hero—Pangeran Diponegoro—and lasted till 1830. In Sumatra rebellion flared up from 1819-1837, under the leadership of a renowned leader—Tuanku Imam Bonjol. Every Indonesian knows the heroic fight waged by the people of Aceh (Sumatra) for centuries, which lasted until the collapse of the Dutch regime in 1942. It was led by that great fighter for freedom Tuku Omar Johan Pahlawan, and proved so successful that the Dutch could only subdue big towns and ports.

Long before the Nazis came to power, the Dutch had established many death camps in Upper Digul, situated in the jungle of New Guinea, infested with malaria, where political prisoners died lingering deaths. It is reported that there are still about 30 Indonesian political prisoners in the Dutch Belsen Camp, Digul.

Under Japanese occupation thousands of Indonesians were trained by the Japanese, and when they wanted to

surrender to the Allies, the Indonesian Nationalist Movement headed by Sukarno and Mohd. Hatta decided to disarm them. At the same time they were determined to prevent the re-conquest by the Dutch, who had no moral right or any justification whatsoever for the re-occupation of Indonesia. In the face of strong opposition by the Japanese, with whom the Indonesians fought many big battles, the Nationalist Popular Movement convened a National Assembly, and a Republic was proclaimed on the 17th August, 1945. In order to stop the tide of popular support throughout the world and to discredit the aim and object of the Indonesians, the Dutch spread far and wide that the movement was sponsored and inspired by the Japanese.

Eventually the British Government began to acknowledge the fact that the Indonesians are behind the Republican Government. Australian journalists who visited Java spoke highly of the efficient administration of the new Republic, and the workers in Australia gave full support to the Republic by boycotting Dutch ships which carried ammunition for the suppression of the national movement. The Australians have rightly considered that an independent Indonesia is far better for them than Dutch imperialism. An independent Indonesia is a source of strength and a safeguard for the safety of Australia. The 75 million Indonesians can be trusted to guard the islands of Indonesia, and they will not run helter skelter like hares, but would prefer to die in defending their hearth and home.

Lord Inverchapel tried to establish agreement between the Dutch and the Indonesians in March and April, 1945, but, due to the stringent attitude of the Dutch in maintaining their supremacy over Indonesia, the negotiations could not be successful. Forced by the world situation, the British Government instructed Lord Killearn to conduct further negotiations and it was after long discussions that an agreement was reached at Linggar-Jati, in which it was agreed that Java, Sumatra and Madura are to be recognised as the Republic of Indonesia—an independent state.

Other areas of the former Dutch East Indies will be administered by both parties for a period of two years and after that stated period of two years, an agreement between the Republic of Indonesia and the Dutch Government will be signed. When the contents of the Linggar-Jati Agreement were made public, there was much controversy and fear regarding Clause eight, which says: "The King (Queen) of the Netherlands shall be at the head of the Netherlands-Indonesian Union. The decrees and resolutions concerning the joint interests shall be issued by the organs of the Union in the King's (Queen's) name." The pro-agreement spokesmen decided not to bother too much about it, for the real seat of power is not at the Hague, but in London and Washington. This is all the more true lately, with bankrupt Holland sending representatives after representatives to the U.S.A. to get a loan, naturally to finance the expensive Indonesian adventure, which has cost the Dutch three million guilders a day.

The Indonesian Government gave the Indonesian delegation permission on 14th January, 1947, to sign the

agreement, but when the Dutch Commission General came back to Indonesia they brought with them a new draft agreement, which was entirely different from the original one. The Dutch Minister for Overseas Territories, Mr. Jonkman, had torpedoed the Linggar-Jati Agreement by changing its interpretation. Consequently, the Indonesian Government refused to ratify it. The *Straits Times* commented upon this on 3rd March, 1947.

After the ratification of the Linggar-Jati agreement by both sides a new era dawned for Indonesia, for according to the agreement, after two years Indonesia will be entitled to send representatives abroad, and the relation between the Dutch and the Indonesians will be put on international basis. By the end of 1948, the Republic of Indonesia will be eligible to be admitted as a member of the United Nations Organisation.

Article 16 of the agreement clearly states that the number of Dutch soldiers in Indonesia should be reduced, but instead of reducing it, the Dutch are sending continuous reinforcements, and there are now more than 170,000 Dutch troops in Indonesia, well-equipped with modern arms and the number is still increasing. The presence of these well-trained troops with up-to-date armaments is a great menace to the peace and tranquility of Indonesia. Also, arms originating from the U.S.A. are stored in such large quantities in Singapore, for the use of the Dutch, that British soldiers in Singapore nick-name them "Amsterdam Yanks."

In the meantime, the Dutch are intensifying the blockade of Indonesia, virtually cutting her off from the rest of the world. Many large quantities of rubber, tea, sugar, tobacco, palm-oil, copra and other raw materials are ready for export, but the Dutch will confiscate all materials taken from Indonesia. Many Chinese ships flying British flags carrying products of Indonesia were captured by Dutch warships and even British and American ships were forced to surrender their cargoes to the Dutch.

The last move of the Dutch has been the ultimatum to the Republican Government and, at the time of writing, it seems that heavy fighting will flare up at any moment for the Indonesians will not surrender their hard-won freedom to the mercy of the imperialistic Dutch. Mr. Campbell, a prominent Australian, who visited Indonesia recently, stated that during the Japanese occupation, the Indonesian people lost five million citizens, and that in accordance with the investigation carried out by Mr. Palar, a Member of the Dutch Parliament, in Celebes alone, from December, 1946, to February, 1947, between 20,000 and 40,000 Indonesians were shot by the Dutch without trial. Their real guilt was that they were pro-Republicans, so they were called "extremists" and punished by shooting. Many thousands of victims suffered the same fate when the Dutch landed at Bali, Borneo and other islands.

The renewed outbreak of fighting in Indonesia would mean the massacre of many thousands of innocent people, and also the mass destruction of villages and towns. The time has come when the United Nations Organisation should intervene and force the Dutch Government to evacuate Dutch soldiers from Indonesia, in order that peace and prosperity may be established there.

THE BERAR DISPUTE

By a Special Correspondent.

ON the 9th of July *The Times* reported that the Nawab of Chhatari, Prime Minister of Hyderabad, together with Sir Walter Monckton, Constitutional Adviser to Hyderabad, had left for Delhi to negotiate with the two Dominion Governments on various political matters including the retrocession of Berar. Berar, an area of nearly 18,000 square miles, containing four million people, lies to the north of Hyderabad and has, since 1902, been administered as part of the Central Provinces.

Behind the Nizam's desire that Berar should once more be returned to Hyderabad lies a long story going back two hundred years. By a treaty concluded in 1766, the East India Company agreed to furnish the Nizam with a subsidiary force whenever he required it and to pay him Rs. nine lakhs in any year in which he did not call on the services of this force. By a later treaty in 1800, it was agreed that, in the event of war "between the contracting parties and any other power whatever" the Nizam was to furnish 6,000 infantry and 9,000 horse to co-operate with the British Army, a further force being added later and known as the "Nizam's Contingent." For payment of this force, advances were made by the British Treasury.

Berar had been ceded to the East India Company in 1803, and assigned the following year to the "Subedar of the Deccan." That it was a gratuitous cession is shown by Wellesley's letter to the Nizam, in which he wrote: "As the Subedar possessed no positive right to any precise portion of our conquest, it appeared to be just and expedient that the territory to be assigned to the Subedar of Deccan should be considered as a gratuitous cession to His Highness on the part of the British Government and not surrendered to His Highness on the ground of his right to participation in the conquest effected during the war." By 1853 the Nizam was in arrears in paying the expenses of his Contingent and, having ten years previously been informed by the British Treasury that "in the event of application for further advance, a territorial security would be demanded," he found himself obliged to cede Berar to the exclusive management of the British, who in turn agreed to provide regular payments to the Hyderabad contingent. In a supplementary Treaty in 1860, the Nizam's debt was cancelled and he himself agreed to forego accounts for receipts and expenditure in the Assigned Districts, though any surplus revenue, after the expenses of administration had been met, were to be paid to him.

Until 1902 Berar constituted a separate administrative unit, but in that year the Treaty of Assignment was superseded by a perpetual lease of Berar to the Government of India at an annual rent of Rs. 25 lakhs. This change was of financial advantage to the Nizam, who had previously been receiving some Rs. 9 lakhs each year. The British Government was to be permitted to administer the assigned districts "in such manner as they deem desirable" and

the revenues, judiciary and civil administration were amalgamated with those of the Central Provinces.

In accordance with an agreement concluded in 1936 between the British Government and Hyderabad, the Nizam's sovereignty over Berar was reaffirmed and he and his successors were henceforth to hold the dynastic title of "His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad and Berar," the Heir Apparent being known as "His Highness the Prince of Berar." The Central Provinces and Berar have, since that date, been administered as one Governor's Province and it was established that any reference in the Government of India Act (or any other Act) to British India should be construed as a reference to British India and Berar. The British Cabinet Delegation, in 1946, gave Berar a place along with the Central Provinces and its elected representatives have taken part in the deliberations of the Constituent Assembly.

Berar, therefore, has a place in British India, but it is not a part thereof and its residents are not British subjects. It has been pointed out that the rights of the Nizam have been split into two parts: the right of administration and other rights not involving this. The first has, since 1853, been in the hands of the British Government, whereas the others have changed from time to time. The claim for retrocession has been raised often in the past, though the Nizam has never received satisfaction. In 1872, Sir Salar Jung claimed that Berar should be reunited in administration as well as in sovereignty with Hyderabad. Lord Salisbury, by his despatch of March, 1878, pointed out that, although the assignment of Berar effected by the treaties of 1853 and 1860 was a "limited assignment," there was no limitation of time and the consent of the Nizam was not necessary for the continuance of the arrangement. Again, in 1902, the Government of India pointed out that the agreement of that year merely substituted a perpetual lease for a limited assignment and that there was, therefore, no limit of time. In 1923, the Nizam made another claim for restoration, rejected by Lord Reading in 1925 in a letter to the Nizam, in which he said that the question of the retrocession of Berar was no longer open.

This the Nizam questioned, making the point that between allies there could be no decision but only a rejection of his claim. He declared that he felt no obligation to treat the subject as closed, or to regard the claim as barred for all time. To this Lord Reading replied that he was unable to accept the Nizam's views, adding that "it is the right and privilege of the paramount power to decide all disputes that may arise between states or between one of the States and itself." To-day, however, the Nizam contends that, with the disappearance of paramountcy, all rights surrendered by the States to the Paramount Power are to be returned to the States. Why not Berar?

LETTER FROM MANILA

by a Philippine Correspondent

THE catastrophe here has been greater than in any other country in the Far East because the Philippines were the only country over whose every inch of soil the Allies fought to drive the Japanese out. Some towns, like Zamboanga, were bombarded by the Japanese cruisers, transforming it into a waste of ashes and warped, corrugated iron. Allied air-raids and landings completed the virtual destruction of the city. This is substantially true of every town in the Philippine Islands.

It is clear that the primary need of this war-ravaged country is rehabilitation. Transport and communication remain the chief problems in Manila. A backlog of civilian goods, including tea, fresh fruit and medicines, which has been arriving from Hong-Kong has accumulated sky high in the piers and the overcrowded warehouses. The destruction of small inter-island boats impedes the recovery of the copra trade. The lumber industry is also held up through lack of portable sawmills. Shortage of machinery and spare parts hinders the return to pre-war production of cement and textiles. The tobacco crop in the last years amounted to only 24 per cent. of the average pre-war production, and it is estimated that the 1946-47 acreage of tobacco will not exceed 60 per cent. of the pre-war acreage.

The Japanese policy in the Philippines has been as short-sighted as it was callous. They made little attempt to repair the sanitary system or restore the health services in the newly gained sphere of "co-prosperity." The number of children with yaws whose festering, fly covered lesions were the result of dirty living conditions and malnutrition, has grown alarmingly. Throughout the occupation sulfa-drugs were quite unobtainable, except at the fantastic price of ten pre-war pesos a tablet. The Japanese requisitioned all hospitals and schools for military purposes and, with the exception of the Japanese language schools, closed all educational institutions. The University of Santa Tomas was used as a concentration camp.

The Manila City Corporation is trying hard to bring moral and physical sanity to this capital. Thousands of prostitutes have been rounded up and lepers returned to the leprosarium, which was damaged in the air-raids. It will be many years, however, before this city of beautiful boulevards regains its pre-war appearance.

Although food prices have been declining for some time, the cost of living is still five times the pre-war level. In the case of rice, the staple diet of the Filipinos, prices had been over eight times the pre-war level. The Americans released 350,000 two-pound boxes of Army rations, which helped to reduce the high price of sugar. But apart from the enormous destruction of all export industries, the recovery of the country is impeded by growing social

unrest, to which very little official recognition is given in the American press. Most casual visitors gain their impressions of the Filipinos from wealthy mestizo families, who live in beautiful Manila homes, from the residences of the sugar magnates, the American-trained Filipino officials, or from the jostling and dense throngs of polyglot city peoples who crowd the boulevards or stake their money on exciting games of jai alai on hot April nights.

But behind this facade of gaiety and abundance are the 18,000,000 Filipino peasants whose status has not changed materially from the time the Americans drove the Spanish out nearly 50 years ago. In a memorandum drawn up by the Philippine Lawyers' Guild, the background of the present troubles in Central Luzon is given in the following passage: "From Spanish times the country's economy has been designed mainly to produce raw materials for colonial powers, and the free (one way) relations during the brief period under American rule before the war only served to intensify the peasants' feudal subjugation. Sub-level standards of living resulted in recurring social unrest and minor revolutions." In a survey of Philippine labour conditions before the war, the Philippines Bureau of Census and Statistics estimates that the average peasant who usually cultivated from one to two hectares of rice land, earned an annual income from 80 to 125 pesos (16s. to £1 5s. a month). Particularly in Central Luzon, the rice granary of the Philippines, seasonal demands for rice crop cultivation allows him only three months of actual work in the fields and leaves him without employment for the rest of the year. During cultivation time, he works in the field from early dawn to sunset for his own landlord and considers himself fortunate working someone else's land on a wage basis. This enables him to earn 50 centavos (1s. 3d.) for the day's work. In the crowded Central Luzon approximately one per cent. of the population owned 99 per cent. of the land. In some cases as many as 30,000 tenants farmed the land of a single owner. It has often been claimed that the national income of the country has risen substantially during the American occupation, but, as the former High Commissioner Sayre points out, the "bulk of this newly created income went to the government, the landlords and the urban areas and served but little to ameliorate living conditions among the almost feudal peasantry and tenantry."

When the Japanese invaded the Islands many of the big landlords fled to the greater safety of Manila and other cities. The Filipino peasant took possession of the fields and stopped surrendering half of his crop to the absentee landlord, and paying usurious interest on old loans. Something like 100,000 peasants throughout the country joined the various guerrilla forces, the largest of which was the *Hukbalap*, the People's Anti-Japanese Army. Organised in 1942, they accounted (according to the *Christian Science Monitor*) for 20,000 Japanese in more than one thousand

operations. In the captured minutes of the meetings of the puppet Filipino cabinet the Vice-Minister for the Interior complains that the *Hukbalap* "is our most serious concern."

It was only natural that after the Japanese were driven out the peasants did not welcome the return of the landlords and their agents, who appealed for protection of their interests to the reactionary ex-collaborator President Roxas and his Civilian Guard, who fought against the guerrillas during Japanese occupation. In many areas from which the resistance movement drove out the Japanese, the guerrillas established autonomous local democratic bodies. When the whole of the country was liberated, the returning Commonwealth Government found that in some regions of Central Luzon a complete *Huk* Government was functioning. It was clear to the *Huk* leaders that the gains for which the peasants fought were now being destroyed by private armies financed and supported by landlords, and by the Philippine Army Military Police, which was composed mainly of the Constabulary Force created by the Japanese.

The Lawyers' Memorandum declares that the Government gave these bodies a free hand to crush the peasant movement. It goes on to say that behind the scene are officers of the U.S. Army, "acting as liaison officers and armament suppliers, and in many cases actually directing the offensive." The *Huks* refused to surrender arms until the right wing groups and private guards were disbanded. Their fears of reprisals were apparently well-founded. In February last year *Huk* squadrons 77 and 97, after having surrendered their arms, were attacked by a band of government troops and thrown into the Malolos prison. During the night 109 men were slain. An inquiry undertaken by the U.S. Military authorities resulted in the arrest of one person, who was released after two days, and later, was appointed by the U.S. Civil Affairs officers Mayor of the town in which the massacre took place. The charges of *Huk* leaders against the Roxas administration are substantiated by the former Secretary of the Interior, Harold Ickes, who declared that "a substantial number of persons who adhered to the enemy and gave him aid and comfort through their services in the puppet government during the invasion, are now holding important offices in various branches of the Commonwealth, including the judiciary." President Roosevelt's inspiring words to the effect that "those who have collaborated with the enemy must be removed from authority and influence over the political and economic life of the country" finds little confirmation today. It is no exaggeration to say that General McArthur, the popular hero of the Philippines, is popular everywhere the American flag flies, except in the Philippines. Some thoughtful Filipinos cannot forget his "liberation" of Manuel Roxas from jail, where he was kept with other members of the puppet government. The policy of the U.S. Army has been hostile to the resistance movement from the outset. Immediately after landing, the two *Huk* leaders, Taruc and Castro were jailed and later released for lack of evidence. But it is no secret that American tanks were used in punitive expeditions against what the military authorities described as "peasant agitators and

subversive Communists." Among the resources at the command of the Philippine Army for the offensive against the organised peasant movement are 50 million dollars worth of military equipment presented as a gift to Roxas by the U.S. Army Forces Western Command.

The present opposition to the Roxas Government consists of a coalition of the Osmena wing of the Nationalist Party, the Democratic Alliance and the People's Front. Of these three groups the Democratic Alliance is the largest. It has a large influence in the countryside and numbers a few Communists among its leaders. Its programme is: (1) Immediate Independence. (2) National Unity against Fascism and Reaction. (3) Land reform with the eradication of feudal vestiges in the countryside. (4) Democratic industrialisation. The People's Front is a party of Socialist intellectuals and progressive Liberals and has a following among business and professional people in urban areas. The general elections of April, 1946, which in many areas were conducted in an atmosphere of terror and threats of dismissal, gave Roxas a comfortable majority in both Houses of Parliament. After a protracted fight over rules the Roxas majority in the Congress refused to seat three opposition senators and seven congressmen, most of whom were elected from Central Luzon, on the ground that "they have no place in our scheme of government." This enabled Roxas to achieve the three-quarters majority necessary for the ratification of the notorious Bell Act which puts the Philippines under complete American economic protection.

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TOWARDS DEMOCRACY IN SIAM

from our Bangkok Correspondent

WHILE their neighbours in South-East Asia are struggling for the freedom of their countries, the Siamese people are striving for internal political freedom. To understand the development of the present situation, it is necessary to learn something of the changes that have taken place during the past fifteen years and of the leaders who are key-men in Siamese politics.

Siam received her first Constitution in 1932. Before that time the country had been ruled by a line of hereditary monarchs wielding absolute power. In June, 1932, a group of military officers and civil servants, calling themselves the People's Party, seized power and established a government with the ruling King in the role of constitutional monarch. The terms of the first Constitution were prepared by the People's Party and were not entirely free from bias. Although electoral rights were given to all men and women above the age of 20 years, the elected representatives constituted only half the strength of the House of Parliament (a single House in Siam, called the Assembly), while the other half were appointed by the People's Party. Moreover, members of the princes' class were not permitted to take part in the elections and the development of political parties was not allowed. Thus, the People's Party, being assured of a majority in Parliament, established and maintained complete control of the country. A "transitional" period, originally set for ten years, was later extended for another ten.

Among the prominent members now living, of the original People's Party were Pridi, Pibul, Kuang and Dhamrong who is the present Prime Minister.* The second-named was a battalion commander at the time of the 1932 coup d'etat. He foresaw the possibility of ruling the country by military power; was elected Prime Minister in 1938, and by 1941 had become a virtual dictator. In the course of his rise to power, he alienated the sympathies of certain of his fellow party members, among them Pridi and Kuang. The former had been from the beginning the brains of the party and had won a considerable following. His presence as a cabinet minister was a source of embarrassment to Pibul, who solved his problem by having Pridi appointed, towards the end of 1941, a member of the Council of Regency. This was a serious tactical error on the part of Pibul. In his new position, Pridi had greater personal safety and more opportunity to make and execute his own plans. Thus, when Pibul declared war on the Allies, early in 1942, Pridi was ready to take counter measures. He established an effective underground movement in the country, and within two years had succeeded in overthrowing Pibul's regime. In spite of the Japanese occupation, Pibul was forced to resign in 1944, and was succeeded by Kuang.

On the resignation of Kuang and his cabinet immediately after the war, Pridi, still acting in his capacity of regent, summoned to Bangkok a man who had been Minister in Washington and a leading figure in the Allied cause.

Seni Pramoj was asked to form a government and start negotiations with the Allies. In December, 1945, elections were held to fill the seats not held by appointed members and Kuang was returned as Prime Minister.

All political prisoners who had been prosecuted by Pibul were freed before the end of the war and some of them now organised themselves and their sympathisers into a party. They succeeded in winning over Kuang and Seni Pramoj, but, since it failed to enrol the support of the majority in the House, Kuang's government was defeated, and resigned in April, 1946. At this point Pridi, who had returned to politics, became Prime Minister. During his office the constitutional reform, begun in the latter part of 1945, was completed and in May, 1946, a new Constitution was promulgated. As a result of this, there are now in Siam two houses of parliament, namely, the House of Representatives and the Senate.

Pridi remained in charge of the government until the last part of 1946, when he resigned and was replaced by the present Prime Minister, Dhamrong. Siamese politicians are now divided into groups, each under a popular leader, but none as yet with clearly defined party policies in the Western sense. At present, the parties number three: the Democrats, with Kuang as leader and Seni Pramoj as adviser and second in command, are those who oppose the old People's Party; the Co-operative Party consists mostly of Pridi's followers, under the leadership of one of the intellectuals; and the Constitutional Front comprises mainly those who were in the old People's Party. Dhamrong became Prime Minister in a coalition government, which is supported by the Constitutional Front, the Co-operative Party and a few independent M.P.s, but opposed by the Democrats. Pridi was appointed by the King to be Siam's Senior Statesman, in which position he acts in the capacity of Adviser to the Government.

Although Siam is as yet obviously far from being truly democratic, it is encouraging to observe a marked progress along the right lines. Trade Unions are now in the making, their popularity established, and the people themselves training in the art of collective bargaining. Admittedly, there is still much to be done, many things to be learned by the politicians, and many economic problems to be solved. When these things are accomplished, then Siam's progress towards democracy should have a free and uninterrupted course.

* For the sake of simplicity, Siamese names are shortened in this text. The full names are as follows:—

Pridi—Pridi Panomyong, sometimes referred to as Kuang Pradit.

Pibul—Pibul Songgram, whose military rank is Field-Marshal, sometimes known as Luang Pibul.

Kuang—Kuang Abhaiwongs, sometimes referred to as Luang Kovid.

Dhamrong—Luang Dhamrong Nawasawat, or Thaval Dhamrong Nawasawat.

TOKYO CHIT CHAT

from our Correspondent in Japan — John Murdoch

TOO SOON FORGOTTEN?

A lot of things have happened in Japan since MacArthur's airborne troops dropped on Sugi airfield, near Yokohama, to take over the remnants of the Mikado empire, and a lot of things, too, seem to have been forgotten.

So far as can be gauged, the general American tendency in Japan to-day is to remember only the sycophantic, ingratiating type of pre-war Japs, with their cherry blossom adulation, and innocuous tea ceremonies. Forgotten too soon is the picture of the atrocities, committed by Nipponese soldiers in Burma, New Guinea, and elsewhere.

American troops in Japan seem to have too readily accepted the idea that the cancer of Japanese militarism has been completely eradicated; they incline to the view that the Jap, more obsequious than ever, is now thoroughly tamed. One American Army Officer laughingly told me that when he asked a typical Japanese workman if he believed in God, this was the retort: "No, we believe only in MacArthur, the great white father!" True enough, it is, that the women and children seem to be quite happy under the occupation, but can the same be said of the inscrutable Japanese male?

JAPANESE AMBITIONS.

The question of the future control and supervision of Japan is all-important in the establishment of permanent world peace, and in that regard it is gratifying to note that Australia's paramount aim is to see that Japan remains unarmed, demilitarised and confined to her home islands.

Yet, barely two years after their defeat by the Allies, Japan is pleading for an army and air force. A Japanese Foreign Office official has already sounded various Allied quarters in regard to Government reaction to the setting up of a Japanese army of 100,000 to take over the duties of the British and American forces when the occupation ends.

The Japanese argument in support of military restoration is that it would be essential in the maintenance of internal order and, in particular, prevent outbreaks of disease and smuggling.

KATAYAMA'S HOPES.

Following on the demand for re-militarisation, listen to 60-year-old Tetsu Katayama, the new Premier of Japan: "I am convinced that Japan, through Socialism, will always remain at peace."

Katayama, it should be pointed out, is Japan's first Prime Minister under the new Constitution, the first Socialist and the first Christian to attain the premiership.

Japan's first Christian leader—he is Presbyterian—contends that his election to the premiership reflects the complete religious tolerance which now dominates the Japanese mind. Incidentally, it is noteworthy that three great oriental countries now have leaders of the Christian

faith: Chiang Kai-Shek in China, Manuel Roxas in the Philippines, and Katayama in Japan. Japan's new Premier profoundly observes that this offers hope for the ultimate erection of an invincible spiritual barrier against the infiltration of ideologists, seeking by suppression the way to power and advancement.

BAT v. MAT.

Sumo wrestling, which once drew as many spectators in Japan as an English soccer cup-final, is losing its appeal for the Japanese. Even the Allied occupation troops have tired of the spectacle of herculean-sized loin-clothed Japs trying to toss each other out of the ring.

While the more polished *ju-jitsu* still retains a modicum of appeal for the average Nipponese and, incidentally, has quite a few adherents among the occupation forces, *Sumo*, once Japan's number one pre-war sport, has waned under the influence of the faster-moving western games.

Japanese youth to-day has succumbed to American baseball, which never fails to attract a cordon of admiring yellow faces.

On present-day evidence, one might safely predict that in the not far distant future, the sport of the bat will efface the traditional Japanese sport of the mat. Certain it is that if the Japanese desire for western pastimes continues, few Japanese sons will receive from their "honourable parents" the once-coveted satin loin cloth which ordains them as future *Sumo* men.

Sumo training is undoubtedly a muscle builder. During the war it had the approval of the Japanese Army and Navy.

A little research revealed to me an instance of its strength-building qualities. Early this year, 21 stone *Sumo* champion, Futabayama, undefeated in 69 contests, wrestled with 25 *ju-jitsu*-trained Jap policemen for two hours in Kyoto before he was downed. Yet, apart from being a test of sheer strength, *Sumo* is a tiresome business to watch.

THEIR SOULS MEET.

The contest begins something like this: contestants squat on the mat and bow to each other. Other *Sumo* men, clad in purple satin loin cloths, their hair plaited and gathered in a knot, prance around the ring as a sort of preamble to the fight, and as if to whet the spectators' appetites. Each contestant paws the floor for a few minutes, as if waiting for the psychological moment when he can, advantageously, grapple with his opponent. In reality however, they are waiting for their souls to meet. How they know when their souls have met is a bit obscure to me.

At any rate, when they do clash, it's just a mixture of rugger-judo-cum-catch-as-catch-can. The bout ends when either man is pushed or thrown out of the ring, or when he touches the mat with a part of his body above the knee. Actual contest can end in seconds and seldom lasts more than five minutes.

KOREA DIVIDED

by Dr. S. Rolbant

THE problem of Korea is principally that of demography. It is a problem of how to relieve the pressure of an over-dense agricultural population and to achieve even the minimum acceptable standard of living for a nation too numerous to subsist adequately by primitive agrarian technique.

The natural increase of population in Korea in the last two decades has been four million per decade or 2.5 per cent. per year. This means that every five years there is a 10 per cent. increase in the number of workers seeking employment and this is in a country where there is no corresponding increase in opportunities for work. In Japan itself, where the increase of population has been as rapid as in Korea, the population trend was accompanied by the process of industrialisation and urbanisation of Japanese economy, which absorbed the surplus population in the countryside. It was also accompanied by the mechanisation of agriculture, which allowed for a greater output per man, and by the introduction of western values, which served to arrest the breeding of large families. In Korea economic and social relationships were purposely preserved in their feudal form and what accumulation of capital there was, was in the hands of the Japanese corporations, which used these invisible exports to pay for food for Japan. Thus every new entrant into the labour market served to depress the already miserable standard of consumption of the Korean worker and peasant.

It would seem that unless a conscious policy of industrialisation and agrarian reform is now pursued, the problem of Korea will not only remain unsolved but will become even more acute. The present day argument about whether the ravages of laissez-faire can be cured by planning or by more laissez-faire, cannot be applied to a country whose depressed condition is a result of a planned effort by their foreign masters. What Korea needs to-day is a government which will democratise the social and economic institutions, which will give priority to education, social welfare and cultural advancement, as well as agricultural expansion and industrialisation. It is a task that requires a system and a plan. It is a task in which the American military government, with their experience and attitude of mind, can hardly be the best contributors.

Since the liberation of Korea the economic situation there has been going from bad to worse. In the South the Japanese Yen is still in use and inflation has reached fantastic proportions. Prices have increased 50 to 100 times over the 1939 level and the "Yamu"—the black market—is rampant. The 38th parallel has no topographic or economic basis whatever. It cuts across land forms like a knife, crossing more than 75 streams and 12 rivers. The double-tracked main north-south Korean railway goes at right angles to the demarcation line, which is also crossed by nearly 400 county, provincial and state roads. The parallel, which also cuts across the two highways which run north-west and north-east of Seoul, interferes with the normal distribution of rice, the shortage of which is causing discontent and bitterness. Nor can it be expected that the

prospect of a prolonged foreign occupation can conciliate the national pride of a people which has already shown such disregard for life in its struggle against foreign domination. An immediate solution of Soviet-American differences seems to be all the more imperative if Korea is to be prevented from becoming a centre of bloodshed and civil war. An American correspondent, Harold Noble, writing in the *Saturday Evening Post*, calls the 38th parallel "our most dangerous boundary." There is no doubt that the Russians regard it with an equal amount of apprehension. It is a parallel that may well prove to be the centre of a conflict from which larger conflicts spring.

The recent exchange of notes on the subject of Korea between Secretary Marshall and Mr. Molotov, as a result of which renewed efforts are being made to break the deadlock, is good news indeed, and although much that can be said at this juncture is pure speculation, it is important to remember that four independent tasks face the Allies in Korea.

1. An agreement on the composition of a provisional Korean government which will pass a unitary electoral law prior to general elections to be held in the near future.
2. The establishment of a joint allied administration to act in an advisory capacity provided by the idea of trusteeship.
3. The substitution of civil administration for the existing military control in Korea.
4. The evacuation of foreign (Soviet and U.S.) forces of occupation.

It is not unnatural that, having failed to find a workable principle of classification of parties to be consulted in the formation of the provisional government, all attention should be focused on the success of this first step towards Korean independence. But it is clear that on the basis of the Moscow agreement, which provides for a five years trusteeship, it is the establishment of a joint allied administrative body that remains the fundamental problem of Korean independence. Although prophecy is notoriously fallible, the economic policies pursued by the Soviet and American authorities in their respective zones show that no such agreement can reasonably be expected. Yet it is clear that in the absence of a common body of principles upon which to advise, no government of Koreans under trusteeship can function. The obvious alternative would be to instruct the Provisional Government to hold general elections, and terminate trusteeship upon the convention of the first Korean Legislative Assembly. The differences that exist between the Nationalist parties on the right and the United Democratic Front on the left are very significant, but their respective claims to power can be tested and realised by the application of the principle of majority rule. The differences between the Trustees, if left unsolved, can only prevent the establishment of Korean independence with the restoration of which, in the words of Sumner Welles, "one of the great crimes of the twentieth century will be rectified and another stabilising factor added to the new international system."

LONDON NOTEBOOK

New Ambassadors from Siam and Nepal.

H. E. Nai Direck Jayanama, former Minister of Foreign Affairs and Vice-Premier, has presented his credentials as Siam's Ambassador to the Court of St. James's. The new Ambassador is 43 years old, and was Ambassador to Japan during the occupation. At the same time he participated in the resistance movement. Mr. Jayanama is married and has four sons. His wife is to arrive in London at the end of August.

The new Nepalese Ambassador to Britain, H.E. General Kaiser Shumshere Jung Bahaar Rana, G.B.E., also presented his Letters of Credence to the King at the end of last month. He is a widely travelled and well-read man, and is fourth in succession of rule to the Premier.

Indian Army.

At the 8th annual meeting of the East India Association, with Lord Scarbrough in the chair, Brigadier J. N. Chaudhuri said that up to now communal feelings had played no part in the Indian Army and its reliability had been an example to the rest of India. The division of the Army would not be easy. Though regrettable, it was a necessary step as one army could not serve two governments.

Spokesman for the States.

Prof. Iqbal Ali Shah, who is in London on a cultural mission, explained at an international gathering the background of Hyderabad's declaration of independence. He stressed that, in 1818, Lord Hastings urged the then Nizam to assume the title of King of his Dominions—a step in which the implicit recognition of his *de facto* status as an independent monarch "is thereby acknowledged." Prof. Ali Shah explained that the fact that the treaties between the British Crown and the Nizam recognise the latter's parity as an ally of Britain, supported the view that Hyderabad possessed inherently the attributes of sovereignty in its own

right, a sovereignty which would automatically revert to it upon the relinquishment of paramountcy by Britain.

Film on Borneo.

An exceptionally interesting colour film, showing the three stages of the liberation of Borneo in 1945, was screened at a meeting of the Anglo-Netherlands Society in London. A personal commentary was given by Mr. William Courtenay, M.M., F.R.C.S., A.R.Ae.S., who, as a War Correspondent, was an eye-witness during operations. Mr. Courtenay described the importance of Mauritai, which was the base for all Borneo operations, and emphasised the part played by Dutch civilians, brought in on Gen. MacArthur's suggestion. They organised relief and civil administration behind the lines without which our advance would have proceeded much more slowly. Lord Wakehurst, K.C.M.G., was in the chair.

New Students' Centre.

An ambitious plan for a modern international centre which could house 3,000 people, a high proportion of whom will be students from the East, has been submitted to Croydon Town Council by Mr. Terence J. Driscoll, founder of the International Language Club. The scheme will cost nearly £1½ million and comprises the erection of four gigantic buildings which, in spite of their luxurious amenities, will enable students to study in Britain at modest expense. The plan is of considerable importance in connection with efforts to maintain London as a world centre of learning.

Colonial Office Helps Students.

To help the many students from the Colonies in Britain, the Colonial Office has set up a Liaison Department for Student Welfare. At present there are 100 students in Britain from Malaya, and 40 from Hong Kong, some of them on Government Grants. The Liaison Officer in charge of this section is Mr. O. T. Dussek, who has lived in Malaya where he served with the Educational Department for 27 years. Mr. Dussek has great understanding for the needs of the colonial students, and tries to advise them in such a way that their annual allowance (which is apt to shrink too quickly if you are a stranger in London) will see them through the

year. He also manages to find facilities for their athletic hobbies. Last month the Malayan Students Union was inaugurated at Malaya House to "foster a corporate life and fellowship among Malayan students, act in a representative capacity in matters concerning their welfare, and provide social and recreational facilities for them." Unfortunately they have yet failed to find accommodation, but the British Malayan Association do all they can to help. One of the highlights of social life for the students are the monthly parties organised by the Malayan Women's Club in St. James's.

British Council Scholarships.

From China there are 84 students in Britain on Scholarships granted by the British Council, and eight senior professors holding Fellowships. In addition, nine students from Hong Kong have been enabled to study in Britain. Opportunities have been offered to many other countries in the East, and it is hoped that many will be able to take advantage of them. Comparatively few grants have been offered to Empire students as they come to Britain on other types of Scholarship through the Colonial Office. Australia, however, has sent eight students, and New Zealand is expected to follow this example soon. The high proportion of Chinese is due to China's greater need, most other countries being in a position to send students without outside assistance. The British Council scholarships are open to English students abroad as well as to foreign ones.

Hong Kong Football Team.

Headed by their captain, 41 year old Fung King, the Sing Tao Rovers, the first Chinese football team to visit Britain, will tour the country in September. They are champions of the Senior Challenge Shield, and learned their football from British sailors in China.

Prof. Tung Shou-yi, General Secretary of the Chinese Amateur Athletic Association, has returned to China after a visit to London, during which he made arrangements for China's participation in the Olympic Games next summer. The Chinese community in London are ready to organise a special committee of welcome for the Chinese team and give it all possible help when it arrives next summer.

THE MONGOLIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC

by V. Wolpert

OUTER MONGOLIA, the correct name of which is the Mongolian People's Republic, is again in the news. Chinese high officials declare that Outer Mongolian troops have invaded the Sinkiang Province of China, and penetrated as far as 150 miles deep into Chinese territory, and that this intrusion is far more than a frontier incident. According to Chinese official reports, fighting is taking place in the Peitashan area (deep in the Sinkiang Province), documents have been captured by Chinese Government troops supporting the Chinese charges on the violation of Chinese sovereignty by Outer Mongolian troops, and at least one of the attacking planes has been shot down. The Chinese Ambassador in Moscow lodged a Protest Note concerning this "incident," from his Government to the Soviet Union and Mongolian People's Republic. (There is no diplomatic representative of the Mongolian People's Republic in Nanking.)

The Foreign Minister of the Mongolian People's Republic has refuted this charge and has accused Chinese frontier troops of intrusion into Mongolian Republic territory. Moscow Radio commentators explain Chinese accusations as an attempt on the part of reactionary Kuomintang circles to divert the attention of the world from the "very unattractive picture inside China" by means of an anti-Soviet fabrication. The issue assumed even greater importance after the Soviet News Agency *Tass* published the following report from Shanghai:

Great interest has been aroused in China by the fact that, immediately after the publication by the Chinese Central News Agency of the false report of the Mongolian violation of China's frontiers in Sinkiang, a statement was made by a spokesman of the U.S. State Department, giving a similar account of the incident, and declaring that he had received the information from the American consul in Sinkiang.

This has created the belief that the American consul in Urumchi, the capital of Sinkiang, was a party to the Central News report on the incident in the area of the Peitashan mountains in the territory of the Mongolian People's Republic.

People arriving in Shanghai from Sinkiang, say that this American consul, Mr. Packston, has been displaying special interest, during the past few months, in the frontier area between the Soviet Union, the Mongolian People's Republic and China in the north-eastern part of Sinkiang. In April, upon the assignment of the Chief of Staff of the U.S. Army, General Eisenhower, Mr. Packston travelled in this area, accompanied by his driver, Erwin (a local German), and took photographs of the frontier districts. . . .

(*Soviet News*, London, June 18th, 1947).

Very little information is available concerning the Mongolian People's Republic. The plebiscite held on 20th October, 1945, established it as an Independent State. The application by M.P.R. to become a member of United Nations was turned down by the Security Council on 29th August, 1946. U.S.S.R., China, France, Brazil, Mexico and Poland voted for its admission; Great Britain, U.S.A. and Netherlands voted against; Australia and Egypt abstained.

The history of Outer Mongolia in the 20th Century was vitally determined by the trend of development in

China, and to an even greater extent by events, first in Tsarist Russia and then in the Soviet Union. In the North, the M.P.R. borders on the Soviet Union, guarding the approaches to the Soviet Trans-Siberian Railway—the main link between Moscow and Vladivostok.

The whole of Mongolia (Outer Mongolia and Inner Mongolia) came under the Manchu dynasty at the end of the 17th century, thus forming a part of China, although the local administration was left to the local princes, controlled only to a certain extent by Resident-Generals in Urga, Kobdo and Uliassutai, appointed by Peking.

At the beginning of the 20th century Tsarist Russia, building up its Asiatic Empire, had some plans to annex Mongolia, but they were refuted by the Chinese Government, and the Siberian frontier between Russian and Chinese Empires remained as drawn up by the Treaty of Nerchinsk in 1689.

But when in 1911, as the result of the Chinese Revolution, the Manchu Dynasty came to an end and China became a Republic, the Mongolians—claiming that their association with China was based only on the personal suzerainty of the Manchu Emperor—declared themselves independent. The Chinese quickly succeeded in subjecting Inner Mongolia, but Outer Mongolia proved to be a more difficult problem, as Moscow—pursuing her own plans—concluded an agreement with the Mongolian Princes on 3rd November, 1912, to support them in their struggle against the Chinese Government. The next year a joint Russian-Chinese Declaration on Outer Mongolia was issued, followed by the Russian-Mongolian-Chinese Treaty, signed on 7th June, 1915. Russia recognised for Outer Mongolia the suzerainty of China, while China granted to Outer Mongolia the status of autonomy, which, for all practical reasons, secured for the Russians a great influence in Outer Mongolia.

The First World War, the Russian Revolution in 1917, followed by Civil War in Russia and the Japanese intervention in Asiatic Russia, weakened Russian influence in Mongolia and in 1919 China renounced the autonomy status for Outer Mongolia: Chinese troops entered the country. The following years the country was the scene of repeated changes in the occupation forces. The Chinese troops were driven out by anti-Soviet "White Guards" led by Baron Ungern-Sternberg. These were again attacked and defeated by Red Army troops, who then remained in the country till the formation of a new Provisional Revolutionary Mongolian People's Government in 1921, with which Moscow signed a treaty of friendship on 5th November, 1921, renouncing all former unequal rights agreements.

Since then the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party—formed by young Soviet-trained Mongolians in 1921—has been the driving political force of the country. Outer Mongolia was recognised as a part of China by the Soviet Government in the Soviet Chinese Treaty of 1924, but in the same year Chicherin, then the Soviet Foreign



Commissar, gave the following interpretation for this recognition:

"We recognise the Mongolian People's Republic as part of the Chinese Republic; but we recognise also its autonomy in so far-reaching a sense, that we regard it not only independent of China in its internal life, but also as capable of pursuing its foreign policy independently."

In the same year a new Constitution was promulgated in Outer Mongolia. The new constitution is in some respects similar to the Soviet Constitution, but had to take into account special conditions of the economic life of the country, based on pastoral economy practically without any industry, and moreover with an undeveloped agriculture. All debts to the Chinese were cancelled. This led to a stoppage of the trade with China, resulting in the direction of the entire external trade toward Soviet Russia. Ulaanbaatar, the capital of the country, was renamed, significantly, Ulan Bator Khoto—the City of the Red Hero. The People's Assembly—the Great Huruldan—elected by the tribes, towns and soldier soviets, became the highest legislative authority. The Small Huruldan—consisting of 30 members of the Great Huruldan—is the highest executive organ, which appoints the Cabinet, consisting of 13 members.

While in the first quarter of the century Russia and China were the only competitors for the influence and domination of Outer Mongolia, the Japanese advance on the Asiatic mainland created a new situation. In 1932, with the establishment of the Japanese controlled puppet state of Manchukuo, Japan made every attempt to bring Outer Mongolia within her orbit. This threat to Outer Mongolia constituted a grave danger to the U.S.S.R. and to her main Siberian communication line—and was answered in 1934, by a "gentlemen's agreement" and Mutual Assistance Protocol between Soviet Russia and the M.P.R. In 1936, this Protocol became a Treaty of Mutual Assistance providing that:

"... both Governments undertake in the event of the military attack upon one of the contracting parties, to render each other every assistance, including military assistance..."

Pravda, 8.4.1936.

The Chinese Government protested twice against this treaty, as a violation of the 1924 Mukden Treaty, but it was clear that the new treaty was first of all directed against further Japanese advance. In an interview granted to Roy Howard, Stalin declared, on 1st March, 1936:

"... should Japan decide to attack the M.P.R. in an attempt upon her independence, we will have to assist the M.P.R. ..."

The following years witnessed a number of frontier clashes between Mongolian and Manchukuo-Japanese forces. Following the skirmishes on the river Halha in May, 1939, Molotov, speaking at the session of the Supreme Soviet, declared on 31st May:

"... we shall defend M.P.R. borders—as our own. It is by far better to cease right now the constantly recurring provocative violation of the borders of the U.S.S.R. and the M.P.R. by the Japanese-Manchurian military units. ..."

Fierce fighting took place in September, 1939 (coinciding with the beginning of the European War) in the Nomonhan area on the Mongolian-Manchukuo border. An armistice was concluded on 16th September, 1939, and after many protracted negotiations an agreement on the problem of the Mongolian-Manchukuan frontier was reached on 9th June, 1940... significantly enough, not by Mongolian and Manchukuo Governments, but by the Soviet Union and Japanese Governments.

In June, 1941, the Soviet Union was attacked by Germany. And while the U.S.S.R. was engaged in fighting in Europe for its life, the Mongolian People's Republic faithfully guarded the approaches to the Soviet frontier in Siberia. Marshal Choibalsan, Premier of the M.P.R. and C-in-C of the Mongolian Army, and other leading Mongolians: Tsendbal, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Mongolian Revolutionary Party, Seretor, Vice-Premier of the M.P.R., and Lhama Surun, Deputy C-in-C of the Mongolian Army, repeatedly visited the Kremlin during the War. Valuable gifts, including horses for the Red Army, were sent from Outer Mongolia to Soviet Russia.

The War in Europe over, Stalin fulfilled his promise to the Western Allies, and, on 8th August, 1945, declared War on Japan. Two days later the Mongolian People's Republic declared War on Japan too and troops of the M.P.R. under their C-in-C, Marshal Choibalsan, participated in the Soviet Army's operations in Manchuria. The same month in Moscow, Dr. T. V. Soong, then the Chinese Premier, and Dr. Wang, the Chinese Foreign Minister, concluded the Soviet-Chinese Treaty of Friendship and Alliance with Soviet leaders. At the same time several agreements between the two countries were signed, one of them concerning Outer Mongolia. China declared her recognition of the independence of this country, provided that the plebiscite would show a majority of the inhabitants of the M.P.R. for it. Russia undertook to respect the independence of M.P.R.

The plebiscite was held in October, 1945, and in February, 1946, the Soviet Union and the M.P.R. signed a new Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Assistance on the same lines as the former treaty of 1936, and supplemented it by economic and cultural conventions.

The trend of internal development of Outer Mongolia will be of great importance as it may influence the Mongolians living in Inner Mongolia—which constitutes a part of the Chinese Republic. October of this year will mark the second anniversary of the plebiscite—the formal independence—but until now the M.P.R. has diplomatic relations only with the U.S.S.R., and it may be timely for the Western Powers to establish diplomatic, economic and cultural relations with this country.

KECHIL MAKAN

(Kechil Makan is a Malayan light dessert).

by D. R. Rees-Williams, M.P.

I HAD lunch with Senor Elpidio Quirino, Vice-President of the Philippines, when he was on his recent visit here.

He seemed a cheerful, shrewd man and appeared to be enjoying every moment of his stay. He was much impressed by our Parliamentary democracy. When the treaty was made between the U.S.A. and the Philippines, the President said that the Philippines would follow in "the glittering wake of the U.S.A." Someone asked the Vice-President whether they had yet found that "all that glitters is not gold." The Vice-President smiled a diplomatic smile.

* * *

When I last came through Marignane Airport, near Marseilles, there was a tremendous flap because of a rumour of one case of suspected plague at Cairo. We all had to go through a medical examination. In view of the fact that I had just come from districts in Burma where plague, typhus, cholera, malaria and smallpox are endemic, I thought this was a case of straining at a gnat.

* * *

In 1763, the British Government, when negotiating the Treaty of Paris, hesitated whether to take the little island of Guadeloupe or the vast territory of Canada. The former exported sugar and cotton valued at more than £500,000 a year, whereas Canada was then described as "a barren waste which produced only a few thousand pounds worth of furs." It just shows what immense strides the Dominion has made in less than two hundred years.

* * *

Three Burmans who have recently been on a visit to this country are men of very different types. Thakin Nu, the second most powerful man in Burma, is an artist turned politician. On his visit both interests were catered for. He went to Stratford-on-Avon, on a pious pilgrimage, met Benn Levy and enjoyed his play "Clutterbuck" and spent a delightful evening at "Pygmalion." U Tin Tut was educated at Dulwich and Cambridge, where he played Rugby for the University, became an officer in the Indian Army and a distinguished member of the I.C.S. England is his second home and his advice is valued as greatly by his British as by his Burman friends. U Kyaw Nyein, the Home Member, and leader of the Socialist party, is a book-worm and loved rummaging around the book shops. Their visit was a great success and established strong ties of friendship.

When I was last in Rangoon, I met a very old Indian gentleman at the Races, who, I was told, was Minister for Indian Affairs to King Thibaw, the last King of Burma, deposed in 1886! Another interesting link with old Burma I came across, was Princess Mah Lat, who was a granddaughter of one of King Mindon's sons who would have been King if he had not been murdered. What a different history Burma might have had if the Princess's grandfather, instead of King Thibaw, had sat on the throne. King Mindon, by the way, when advised to attack the British at the time of the Indian Mutiny, refused, saying "We do not strike a friend when he is in distress."

* * *

Just before the cession of Sarawak to the British Crown the Rajah went up the Baram River to settle disputes. One was over three Chinese heads. The Iban (dyak) in their forays on the Japanese, in removing over three hundred Japanese heads along the river, had, by accident or design, removed three Chinese as well. Now the families of the Chinese wanted the heads to bury with the bodies. The Iban were willing to surrender the heads on terms. Whilst the discussion was going on one of the Iban chiefs put his elbows on the table. The other reproved him in shocked surprise: "Where were his manners, did he know no better than to put his elbows on the table when talking to the Rajah?"

* * *

A certain Sultan, some years ago, whose territory lay outside the Malayan Peninsula, sought the hand in marriage of one of the Trengganu princesses. The Sultan was exceptionally small in stature and weak in mind. The answer he got was a classic. "The princesses of the Royal House of Trengganu do not mate with monkeys."

Indonesian Independence Day Celebration

MONDAY 18th AUGUST 1947

at 7.30 p.m.

LIVINGSTONE HALL · WESTMINSTER

Speakers: Miss E. Sylvia Pankhurst,
Mr. Fred Longden, M.P., Mr. Guy A. Aldred and others

Chairman: Mr. D. N. Pritt, K.C., M.P.

MY BUDDY - THE ELEPHANT

by Saw KPi

DURING the campaigns in Burma casualties amongst timber working elephants were extremely heavy and a report appeared in a British newspaper to the effect that any trained elephant which survived would be "worth its weight in gold."

Newspaper men are proverbially hard-working, and it seems a pity the editor of that paper had not the leisure to work this out. The answer would have surprised him, for an average elephant would weigh over three tons and the price of gold, at that time, was about seven pounds an ounce. Nevertheless, elephants were very valuable animals even in pre-war days.

Before the war, the Company for which I worked (extracting teak logs from the forests up-country and transporting them to the mills near the sea) owned close on one thousand elephants and employed several hundreds more which were the property of indigenous owners, who lived in the forest-covered hills in both Burma and Siam. Being both valuable and delicate, it was an important part of the Europeans' duties to learn all we could about the beasts in sickness and in health for, unless carefully and constantly cared for, losses might become very high.

In our earliest days this knowledge was acquired from local elephant owners and the individual animal's attendants through continued questioning and everlasting observation. Records were kept of each animal and from these accurate statistics were compiled which, in due course, exploded several time-honoured but quite mythical beliefs.

It was generally believed that elephants did not breed in captivity, but our statistics were compiled from measurements taken annually from some three hundred calves of our own breeding. Then there were the old, old stories of longevity, yet so far as the life cycle of our timber working elephants was concerned, we found that it was not unsimilar to that of man. The period of gestation, however, is much longer, being about twenty two lunar months.

The calf is usually an inch or two less than three feet in height at birth, and for the next four or five years he is closely attached to his mother, who usually calls to her aid another female elephant, who acts as a kind of foster-mother. At about the age of five years (or possibly a little younger) the little beast, being weaned, may be separated from its mother and its training commences under the hands of its special and permanent attendant. This training, with us, is entirely humane and it is surprising to see how quickly the attendant educates his charge by word of mouth alone and great patience.

At the age of six or eight the little fellow will carry his miniature saddle on which is mounted a basket containing his attendant's personal effects, bedding and the like, until, as the calf grows bigger, loads are increased and the animal begins to be of real use.

We did not allow any of our young animals to undertake serious dragging work until they reached the height of seven feet (probably at about seventeen years of age) when they took their places in the working herds, but even

then, they were carefully confined to the lighter jobs of extraction. As they grew older, however, their tasks were increased, until at about twenty-five years they could be reckoned as having reached adult strength. From then on until thirty-five to forty-five years of age their strength was at its maximum, after which their powers usually began to decline, until they were pensioned off at fifty-five or so. Each was then given a separate attendant (often an old hand, who himself had passed the age of full-time employment) and, with the exception of an odd light job now and then, their remaining years were spent in feeding, bathing and resting amongst the luscious bamboos and grasses of their native jungle.

From our records we learnt that a young female could give birth to a calf when in her thirteenth year, that calves were born at five to six year intervals, and that twin calves were a very rare event. In our herd we had families of as many as six and the mothers were then far from being beyond their prime; another somewhat remarkable collection was that of three generations, all females. The palest coloured elephant I ever saw, was suffering so badly from some loathsome skin complaint that no one would ride her. The traditional "white elephant" is merely a beast in which are embodied the complete number of peculiar points demanded in its definition. I never saw or heard of anyone who had seen a real albino elephant.

Elephants, like humans, differ in appearance and character—no two are exactly alike, and in that they resemble also the teak they extract, for no two teak trees are the same. In the different herds one may find the equivalents to our busy-body, to the timid, to the brave, to the bad tempered, the placid and even to the practical joker. The last seems to obtain much pleasure from biting and pulling the tails of his fellows and many elephants' tails are to be seen without the hairy brush from which the riders weave rings for their best girls.

Many of their individual characteristics may be read from their looks, and the names given them by their owners and riders are often a sure guide to their peculiarities and temperaments, so it was useful to understand the language of the people who brought their beasts up for sale. The glint of white in the eye of a tusker (or female) may suggest a beast of doubtful temper, but when the rider says his animal's name is "Pa-Doo" all uncertainty disappears, for in Sgaw Karen this means "Mr. Bad Temper." "Moo Gay," on the other hand, indicates that the lady is kindly and agreeable. Between these two extremes are many more, such as, "Mr. Big Ears," "Mrs. Short Tail," "Miss Pearl Eye" and "Mr. Bolter."

Generally elephant herds, both wild and domesticated, are an amiable, quiet and sociable community, seldom upset by internal squabbles. If trouble comes, it usually comes from outside the herd—the scent of a human being will cause a wild herd to stampede and the visit of a tiger will put even domestic animals on the qui vive. Solitary males may endeavour to force their attentions on peaceful herds. All such solitary males are not bad, however,

and it is usually the rogue, with a price on his head, that leaves a trail of destruction and death behind him. The sooner the rogue is destroyed, the better for all, man and beast, and when shot a closer examination will often disclose a reason for his madness—such as a suppurating tusk or a fly-blown wound.

Some say an elephant never forgets and that its intelligence is prodigious. So far as the latter is concerned, a dull-witted rider can make even a well trained elephant appear dull and if any of our home pets were provided by Nature with a prehensile appendage, such as the elephant's trunk, their so-called intelligence would know few bounds.

There was one bad tempered tusker in a forest on the Siamese frontier which charged me. About a year afterwards, I met the same beast in the forest three hundred miles away, to which he had been transferred, and he charged me on sight. However, he had the mentality of an anarchist, was totally disorderly and hated everything on two legs; so I am afraid this incident cannot be used as evidence in support of this popular belief in an elephant's long memory. I know of no other, either.

One can hardly term elephants as lovable beasts—they are too massive and ponderous—but, nevertheless, I found them friendly, fascinating and useful partners in my day's work. They captivated me, so did their riders—the Karen—and all the other inhabitants of the jungle.

There are numerous stories about elephants: one I like as much as any is of the brother and sister, born in the same village, who lived together, worked together and fed together. They were never parted. A timber firm bought them and the man who took charge of them knew their history, so, when orders from headquarters to transfer the sister arrived, he pleaded for permission not to part them. This was not allowed, they were separated and the sister was marched away from her life-long companion, who fretted for her until he became ill. Finally, heart-broken, he found his way to a precipice in the jungle and—killed himself.

He did not plunge over the edge, but, placing the tip of his trunk in his mouth, blew his brains out!

To the truth of this heartrending tragedy, I cannot vouch, but suspect it (and some other stories) may have been concocted for the edification of new comers to the country and for the host of tourists, thirsting for romance, who in those palmy days descended on us isolated and lonely jungle wallahs by every weekly mailboat plying the Irrawaddy.

BOOKS ON THE

by Kenneth Grenville Myer

FOR over a hundred years now Indians have been writing poems in a language other than their mother-tongue, in English. Some of the best of these have been collected into *This Strange Adventure* by Fredoon Kabraji (New India Publishing Co.), who, in a bold preface declares his belief that Macaulay's decision in 1835, to use public funds to give an English rather than an oriental education was not such a bad thing for Indian letters. By all accounts vernacular culture was at its nadir and the impact of the new from England produced an efflorescence not dissimilar, though on a much smaller scale, to the Renaissance in Europe some four centuries earlier. The work of Toru Dutt, whose death at the age of 21 is still to be mourned, is well illustrated by four poems written in 1882, but the best poem in the book is *The Earthen Goblet* by Harindranath Chattopadhyaya, whose sister, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, appears to me to be inadequately represented by the three poems selected. I do not understand the reason for this choice: there are other and better examples more typical of her work. Mr. Kabraji has, however, allowed me to make a happy discovery, by printing *The Call of Krishna* by Minnie D. Sethna, whose poetry I do not remember having seen before, while it is a cumulative pleasure to read again *Poplar, Beech and Weeping Willow* by Manmohan Ghosh. *This Strange Adventure* is to be published quarterly; it is not only to be hoped that in subsequent issues the editor will compile the poems in alphabetical, or, better still, in chronological order—at present the collection loses much of its force by what seems to me to be purely haphazard arrangement—but also that the publisher will see fit to put stiff covers on what could be a work of reference invaluable to libraries to which the public have access. It should not be necessary to point out that the best of these poems are a serious and silvern addition to English Literature; that they are not so well known as they should be will, I hope, be rectified by the efforts of Mr. Kabraji.

It is difficult to imagine the reasons for the publication of *My Impression of India* by Reginald Sorensen (Meridian Books). Those who are acquainted with the opinions of Mr. Sorensen on things Indian, as expressed in the House of Commons and elsewhere, will have no difficulty at all in forecasting the impression that a six weeks tour of the vast continent of India made—or rather failed to make—upon him. Things are, the reader is forced to conclude, exactly as Mr. Sorensen expected them to be. As a member of the Parliamentary Deputation to India in 1946, Mr. Sorensen, either alone or accompanied by one or more fellow-members, visited a number of places and he has set down what he thought about it all. It is not his fault, I feel sure, that the name of F. L. Brayne is wrongly spelt, since for him, almost alone

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FAR EAST

amongst the countless Britons who have laboured for India, Mr. Sorensen professes some regard. Strangely enough, Mr. Sorensen is less *naïf* when it comes to writing about people. He makes a shrewd assessment of the influential personalities he met and ceases momentarily to air his prejudices. I cannot remember having read of the publication of Major Woodrow Wyatt's impressions of the same tour; perhaps Mr. Sorensen could learn much from his greater experience in the literary field.

How wide is the gulf separating Mr. Kabraji from Mr. Sorensen! No less wide is that which separates him from *Patrick Geddes in India* edited by Jaqueline Tyrwhitt (Lund Humphries). Far less well-known than they ought to be, these extracts from Professor Sir Patrick Geddes's official reports on Indian cities show why his theories on town-planning revolutionised, directly or indirectly, constructive thought on the subject. We are greatly indebted to H.H. The Maharajah Holkar of Indore, whose financial aid made this publication possible. Apart from the appeal it will have for town-planners, and for those who like to find official reports commendably free of officialese, this book reveals in impeccable English laced with pungent comment, a rare understanding of the Indian scene, a love for humble people, and a descriptive ability which will be envied. Space is short so I cannot quote, and once starting I would end by quoting the whole; so I will conclude this compulsorily brief notice by adding that this book is illustrated by excellent photographs, and has an introduction by Lewis Mumford.

A Guide to 14 Asiatic Languages by Andrew Boyd (Pilot Press), is a book which, to use the old cliché, does in fact fill a long-felt want. Less of a guide than a vocabulary, pocket-sized, and bound in stiff covers, it should prove invaluable to travellers who, in these days of Skymasters and Tudors, Constellations and the rest, find themselves transported in a few hours from one language to another, and desire to make themselves understood in the vernacular. In parallel columns with five languages to an opening, the baffled voyager has the equivalent of most of his ordinary needs in the tongues spoken across the continent from Ankara to Tokio. *A Planned Auxiliary Language* by H. Jacob (Dennis Dobson), is a serious study of the considerations affecting the choice of an artificial second language to render, in the distant future, such books as Mr. Boyd's unnecessary. After a comparative analysis of five systems of demonstrated usefulness, Esperanto, Ido, Occidental, Novial and Interlingua, the author passes to a survey of the theory of language building, and of recent developments. This is a work of scholarship, and yet I felt uneasy at being forced to the conclusion that any auxiliary language visualised by the author will be purely European in conception. If confusion of language is to be but a memory, and an auxiliary language to be universal in its application, then perhaps a new approach—from the East—should be made.

The second number of the new series of *World Affairs*, published quarterly by Stevens with a distinguished editorial board, contains interesting articles on *India in Transition* by the Rev. A. McLeish and on *Indo-China* by Professor G. W. Keeton. *The International Law Quarterly*, under the honorary joint editorship of Professor G. C. Cheshire and C. John Colombos, makes its appearance as the British journal of public and private international law. This periodical, which is also published by Stevens, is of interest not only to lawyers, but to students of affairs, since it deals with such subjects as double taxation, inter-state marriage laws, and Prize courts, as well as the stuff of diplomacy. The managing editor is E. H. Wall. *Indo-China*, a shilling pamphlet, published by the Union of Democratic Control, presents the Viet-Nam case against the French Union in a forceful and well-summarised accusation.

And now, with Poetry and that strange classification, "non-fiction," noticed, we can turn with the lightest of hearts to *Four Cautionary Tales*, translated from the Chinese by Harold Acton and Lee Yi-Hsieh (John Lehmann), and we are not disappointed. With an attractive dust-cover designed by Derek Hill and an introduction by Arthur Waley this book is pure delight. It was a wise decision to offer these subtle and well-salted tales to a wider public after their original publication in a limited edition. They have been compared inevitably with the Decameron stories, but for wit, polish and admirable style in translation they are measurably superior. *The Mountain Village* by Chun-Chan Yeh (Sylvan Press), is heavy with the impress of sincerity. Life in a small village on the upper reaches of the Yang-Tse in the early 1920's was not easy. Ignorance, credulity and economic difficulties were not the peasant's only handicap, and this novel makes it pathetically clear that trampled on in turn by warlords, landlords, and the Communist Forces of Liberation, his survival was little short of miraculous. One cannot help wondering about the author and wishing the publishers had used the blank turn-in of the dust-cover for a brief biography. This is a first novel of promise and the Book Society is to be commended on its choice.

BOOKS RECEIVED

(Notice in this list does not preclude review, in this, or subsequent issues.)

PATRICK GEDDES IN INDIA edited by Jaqueline Tyrwhitt. (Lund Humphries. 10s.)

MY IMPRESSION OF INDIA by Reginald Sorensen. (Meridian Books, Ltd. 10s. 6d.)

A GUIDE TO 14 ASIATIC LANGUAGES by Andrew Boyd. (Pilot Press. 9s. 6d.)

THE MOUNTAIN VILLAGE by Chun-Chan Yeh. (Sylvan Press 9s. 6d.)

INDO-CHINA. (Union of Democratic Control. 1s.)

THE INTERNATIONAL LAW QUARTERLY. (Stevens. £1 10s. per annum.)

WORLD AFFAIRS. (Stevens. 2s. 6d.)

AN ASTROLOGER'S DAY by R. K. Narayan. (Eyre & Spottiswoode. 8s. 6d.)

THESE ARE MY PEOPLE by Alan Marshall. (Harrap. 8s. 6d.)

LA QUESTION D'EXTREME-ORIENT 1840-1940, by Pierre Renouvin. (Librairie Hachette.)

THE PROJECTED EXHIBITION OF INDIAN ART

by Sir Richard Winstedt, K.B.E., C.M.G., F.B.A., D.Litt.

THE years before the war had seen Winter Exhibitions at Burlington House, of Italian, French, Dutch and British art and of Chinese and Persian art. And it is for many reasons proper and desirable to reveal to Europe specimens of the best Indian painting and the unsurpassed quality of Indian sculpture. The popular European notion of that sculpture is still mainly based on the poorest examples of many-armed Hindu gods, most of them from Nepal and Tibet, and even the experts of Europe are unaware of all the schools of Indian painting. Imagine, for example, the excitement if the Norwich school of English painters were to be discovered to-morrow for the first time, but that is the sort of discovery bound to result from the assembly of Indian collections for a London exhibition.

The idea, therefore, of such an exhibition was mooted years ago, but there have been the war and other difficulties. The finest paintings in India are the frescoes on the walls of the Ajanta Caves, treasures irremovable. The finest Indian sculpture is carved on rocks as at Mamallapuram, or imbedded in temples at Ellora, at Belur and Halebid, and elsewhere. A fragment of the famous Bharhut railing, though in the Calcutta Museum, is too large and too fragile for conveyance overseas. In spite of this, would there be enough exhibits obtainable to give an adequate idea of the superb quality of India's carving in stone and of her bronzes, and of the range of Indian painting and textiles and jewellery? As soon as the war ended, certain Societies interested in the East, the Royal Asiatic Society, the Royal Society of Arts and the Royal India Society, approached the Royal Academy to explore ways and means. Committees were formed, here and in Delhi, and a delegation was sent to India to approach public museums and private collectors on the spot. In a tour of just over six weeks it visited New Delhi, Baroda, Ahmedabad, Bombay, Madras, Mysore, Hyderabad, Patna, Benares, Allahabad, Agra, Muttra, Sarnatti, Lahore, and Peshawar, while one of the delegates went as far as Kabul, in search of ivories.

In the first place, the delegates met with the most cordial co-operation on the part of the Indian Committee under the chairmanship of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, from all the custodians of State and Museum treasures, and from the owners of many great private collections. In the second place, they found it possible to list some hundred and fifty

examples of the finest sculpture, about four hundred of the best paintings, some sixty bronzes, many early terracotta plaques, early illustrated manuscripts, painted book-covers, Mogul carpets and specimens of mediaeval armour, all of them available for the exhibition. Among the jewellery, were gold ornaments from Taxila, some of them showing Greek influence.

There is to be an East India Company Room, and the Indian Committee is choosing enough examples of modern Indian art to fill a small gallery. Some of the exhibits will be lent from private and public collections in Great Britain, on the Continent and in the United States of America.

If one includes the seals and pottery of Mojendo-Daru and other places in the Indus valley, the history of Indian art goes back five thousand years, and even so was based on a culture still more ancient. The marvellous humped bull on one of the seals from Mojendo-Daru, in its sensitive modelling, reveals the same quality of interpretation that three thousand years later was to mould the great Mauryan bull in the Calcutta Museum. The art of the Indus valley will be well represented and an outstanding example of the Mauryan period will be a famous colossal Yaksi, or female figure, from Didarganj (Patna). So-called classical sculpture will be represented in all its phases by Bharhut figures and pieces from Amaravati, Mathura, Sarnath and the Deccan. Among work illustrating the mediaeval period will be charming figures from Khajuraho. Enumeration would be tedious, but it may be emphasised that one of the great qualities of Indian sculpture is that it is carved in the round, and that the best pieces are as integral as a berry—never four facades stuck on a central core. Another mark of Indian sculpture is the superb texture of the surface. The patina, too, of old bronzes is superb, though some specimens have been damaged by chemical experiments at preservation.

None but experts may be aware of more than the two main schools of Indian painting, namely the Perso-Indian school of the Mogul court and the indigenous Rajput school. But experts should revel in the varieties of schools that will be represented: Rajasthani, Kangra, Golconda, Deccani, Arcot, Bijapur, Bundi, Basohli, and popular taste should delight in the fairy-land of Indian mythology.

U.N. AND THE FAR EAST.

The U.N. Economic Commission for Asia which has been meeting in Shanghai has had little publicity devoted to it. The United Nations Information Bureau has established a branch there because of this fact, so it is to be hoped some news will emerge. The first session is to deal largely with proce-

sure, the later ones with the rehabilitation of the Far East. Russia, however, has said that she might not send a representative to future conferences. This would be very short-sighted of her and quite inexcusable.

The United Nations Information Department should establish a centre in Hong Kong. Only by so doing will

United Nations information become known in China, both Kuomintang and Yen-an, for Hong Kong is the gateway to and from China. The Bureau says there are technical reasons for not going to Hong Kong, because China is a member nation and Hong Kong is not. What is the Department, an information service or a technicality?

ECONOMIC SECTION

AUSTRALIA AND ANTARTIC WHALING

Claims on Japan and the Canberra Conference

by Thomas Dunbabin

WHEN the British Commonwealth conference on peace terms for Japan meets in Canberra, on August 26th, Australia's plans for whaling in the Antarctic will have their part in the proceedings. Australia has already claimed as reparations from Japan, the floating factory, *Ishili Maru*, and 12 whale-chasers.

Australia has also entered her protest against Japanese whaling operations in the Antarctic. She objected to the permission which General MacArthur gave for the Japanese to whale in the Antarctic in the southern summer of 1946-47, against the methods used by the Japanese during that expedition, and against the plans for Japanese whaling on a larger scale in the Antarctic next summer.

If she secures the *Ishili Maru* and the chasers as reparations, Australia is prepared to meet the needs of Japan by letting the Japanese have the whale meat taken by these vessels when worked under Australian control. The Commonwealth is strongly opposed to letting the Japanese build up again the long-range whaling fleets which they were operating in the Antarctic before Japan attacked at Pearl Harbour and Singapore and so began the Pacific war.

If Australia does not obtain the Japanese vessels as reparations, there is little chance of her entering into Antarctic whaling before 1950—even if she can get a floating factory built by then. If the Japanese are to be allowed to build up their fleets and to carry on the reckless slaughter of whales in the Australian quadrant of Antarctica there will probably be little left for the Australians if they do set about having a whaling fleet built.

The allocation of whales for the 1946-47 season in the Antarctic, as made by the international whaling conference in Washington in November, 1946, allowed for the taking of 16,000 whales in all. British, Norwegian, Argentine, Dutch, Russian and Japanese whalers all operated in

the Antarctic. Australia was allowed to send an observer (Mr. Coonan) with the Japanese fleet. He reported that the Japanese slaughtered young whales and committed other breaches of the international whaling conventions. Their methods were destructive and wasteful. If they are to go on doing this, the outlook for Antarctic whaling in the regions south of Australia, where the Japanese work, is poor.

Yet these whaling grounds lie close to Australia's southern ports. And Australia has a greater stake in Antarctica than any other country. More than a third of the Antarctic Continent—an area of 2,472,000 square miles—is Australian territory. Australia has done much exploration and research there and is now preparing another Antarctic expedition for 1947-1948, to open the way for a larger one in 1948-1949.

The natural base for Australian whaling in the Antarctic is Hobart, Tasmania. This city, with its magnificent harbour, lies in 43 degrees S. It was Hobart that the Norwegian whaling pioneer, Captain Carl Anton Larsen, used as his jumping-off place in November, 1923, when he sailed to open up the great whaling grounds of the Ross Sea.

At Hobart, Larsen shipped a number of young Tasmanian seamen. With them went Alan Villiers, Victorian by birth and Tasmanian by adoption, who wrote the story of the venture in his *Whaling in the Frozen South*.

Hobart has a long record as a whaling port of the old harpooning days. A century ago it was the greatest whaling port in the British Empire, and took second place, in those days, only to the great whaling ports of the United States. As far back as 1832, a whaling vessel from Hobart, the *Venus*, is reported as going as far south as 72 degrees in the Ross Sea.

Pending a decision on her claim to a whaling fleet as reparations from Japan, the Commonwealth and States in Australia are planning to revive, with modern methods, the shore-based whaling (bay whaling) which long flourished in Australia. Small vessels working from such bases as Twofold Bay in New South Wales and Albany or Point Cloates in Western Australia, would capture the whales which migrate up and down the eastern and western coasts of Australia. These whales would be brought into the base for treatment.

The yields and the profits from such stations, dealing mainly with black and humpbacked whales, would be small compared to those secured by floating factories and chasers working in the Antarctic Seas.

Norwegian whaling to-day is concerned largely with the Antarctic. It is on Antarctic whaling that the prosperity and the very living of the ports of Sandjefjord, Tonsberg and Larvik was mainly based before the German invasion of Norway. The Norwegians are now building up their Antarctic whaling again.

British whaling companies are also deeply concerned in Antarctic whaling. The new British floating factory, *Balaena*, which made her maiden voyage to the Antarctic last season, is claimed as the finest vessel of her kind in the world.

(continued on Page 29)

BURMA'S RICE TRADE

by Melvin Tun Pe (Moulmein, Burma)

BURMA'S fall from the premier position as the world's largest exporter of rice and rice products, from 3½ million tons in 1930-1941 to about 20,000 tons during the Japanese occupation years 1942-44, and her speedy come-back, with a probable export of 1,100,000 tons out of a production of 4,100,000 tons this year, is an interesting example of an agricultural recovery out of war chaos.

A brief analysis of pre-war conditions regarding the cultivation, milling and export of rice, and the fight back to her leading position against heavy odds, give a graphic picture of the climb to "normal" of the rice trade of Burma.

Cultivation figures show that it took Burma eighty years to increase her cultivation acreage sevenfold when, in 1941, her acreage under cultivation soared to 12½ million acres, and sixty years to produce the same ratio for export. When it is understood that the 3.6 million tons of rice exported in 1941 are the result of manual labour, implemented by locally-made agricultural tools, conveyed by country-made river crafts and bullock carts to the mills, out of a gross production of some seven and half million tons, the possibilities of expansion and increase in production by scientific and mechanical means can only be conjectured.

Pre-war Cultivation Acreage and Export in tons.

Acreage.	Export in tons.
1866 1,750,000	1881 520,000
1896 5,500,000	1891 817,000
1906 9,250,000	1901 1,416,000
1916 10,500,000	1911 1,775,000
1926 11,500,000	1921 2,450,000
1941 12,500,000	1931 3,540,000
	1941 3,600,000
	1946 800,000
	1947 1,100,000

The rice trade in Burma suffered a serious set-back when the Japanese invaded the country in 1942. War ravage came in during the height of the paddy selling season, and thousands of tons of paddy* were left in the fields with the owners, cultivators, landlords and tenants too fearful to cart in their paddy. Prices dropped and paddy was literally free for the picking. (The writer was present on one occasion when during the evacuation of 1942, a bag of salt and onions were exchanged for about 1,000 tons of paddy.) When some semblance of order was restored in Lower Burma in October, 1942, Japanese rice companies began a purchase drive for the paddy and rice. Price was controlled at Rs. 75/- to Rs. 100/- per cent. baskets of paddy of 46 pounds each, and rice cost Rs. 21-22/- per bag of 224 pounds.

Purchases were limited while fighting was still on in Upper Burma and the Japanese companies were in no position to efficiently export the products they could buy in the country. Consequently, the colossal surplus, and the impossibility of moving supplies from place to place, led to a further slump in rice and paddy and ridiculous prices prevailed, e.g. a bag of 224 pounds of highly milled

quality rice fetched Rs. 5/- in a currency fast depreciating. In Upper Burma, in deficit areas prices were high, ranging from Rs. 13/- to Rs. 15/- per bag, which climbed higher with the paucity of transport, and a wide gulf in rates soon prevailed in the same country. In Lower Burma, there was a surplus of some one million tons in 1943, while in Upper Burma the food situation was desperate, with a deficit of half a million tons, an indication not of the country's shortage, but of the impossibility of moving supplies. The surplus in Lower Burma, together with the next year's crop, which after serving the needs of the population in the radius of available transport, plus half a million Japanese soldiers, again netted a surplus, was still there when the Civil Affairs Service, the Military Government of the British, came in 1945. There were some 800,000 tons of rice, good, bad and indifferent rice, no doubt, but nevertheless, rice.

War devastated, crime infested, currency inflated, and Jap oppressed, agriculture in Burma never saw worse times than during the years 1943-44. The 1942 surplus stocks of paddy, in many instances, were still lying rotted in the fields and around bombed mills in Lower Burma; the inability of cultivators and owners to find means to get these stocks to either mills or markets, the fear of possessing cash, the general insecurity of life and property, Jap press gang recruitments for the Siam-Burma railway, apart from the personal danger from air attacks, found Burma with rice and paddy in surplus at the wrong places, frozen and immobile. All available bullock carts, each capable of carrying half a ton of paddy, were commandeered by the Japanese for moving their own war materials; all available boats of useful capacity were no longer at the owners' pleasure, and motor transport of individuals were at the Imperial Nippon's august command. Such grim conditions throttled the life artery of Burma's agriculture, but the vast acreage and the amazing vitality of the fertile soil still defied complete annihilation.

The other aspects of rice production: cultivation and the milling of paddy into rice, presented an equally grim picture.

Cultivation of the paddy crop in Burma beginning from the rains in June, entails procurement of labour, ploughing, harrowing and "broadcasting" or transplantation of seedlings. Agricultural implements commonly used are only a stage above the primitive. Ploughing with a pair of bullocks harnessed to a single toothed plough, a man can finish only half an acre per day. Harrowing the same acreage takes equally long. Then "broadcasting" or raising a nursery and transplanting the young plants successfully from the nursery to the prepared fields is a process of time, agricultural nursing spreading over a month when the plants mature. The transplantation is usually undertaken by women, plant by plant, either with their fingers, or with the aid of a forked stick. The physical discomforts of such a task can well be imagined, as the transplanters have to work for eight to ten hours per day in inches of soft mud.

* Paddy is the unhusked rice, the natural grain before milling.

After the respite of the rains, reaping and harvesting is carried out by manual labour, bullocks and carts. Paddy crop is hand reaped, carted and threshed by the simple expedient of having the bullocks walk over the sheaves. Then the separated grain is winnowed in the equally simple manner of casting down the grain from a height, through the meshes of a loose woven basket. After winnowing, the cleaned paddy is then sold or taken to mills for milling into rice.

All these processes while simple, are slow and laborious. But when aerial activity of the "enemy" threatened personal safety at every stage of the production of rice, it limited output to a very great extent. Mills in Burma, as expected, formed the main targets of all Allied Air Forces and it would be no exaggeration to say that every mill that survived in Burma has either machine gun bullet or shrapnel scars to show to-day. Fortunately, Burma's pre-war potential milling strength was more than adequate.

The years around World War I gave rice a boom and small mills mushroomed into existence at every strategic road or waterway nearest to a paddy production centre. But the following years of depression, and the constant tug-of-war between paddy farmers, rice millers, and foreign rice competitors, heaved the small millers out of business and prosperity, and only about 30 per cent. of the mills were left in operation by 1941.

Following the recapture of Burma 1944-45, came the Civil Affairs Service (Burma), staffed by Burmese who had evacuated to India and by local recruits from occupied areas. A military administration, it took up the question of food supply without delay, and arranged for the procurement of paddy and rice by purchase and by the seizure of enemy stocks. The C.A.S.(B) laid down a programme for rice and paddy by purchase, milling, movement and distribution, either on payment or gratis. When the machinery came into action, starvation in deficit areas in Burma was staved off, mills silent for so long rumbled into action and cheap rice was once more made available to the country. Paddy left by the Japs was moved to mills and within six months of the occupation in the Delta of Burma the C.A.S.(B) was able to create a surplus out of the chaotic balance of stocks. As a business concern the C.A.S.(B) deserves no great approbation, but as an army concern it certainly got the food situation under control. The distribution of the necessities of life to the cultivators and farmers of Burma, who were destitute to the verge of despair, resulted in a recuperation of the paddy and rice industry. More acreage came into cultivation. Mills not seriously damaged by war had machinery replacements given or sold to them at controlled prices. Damaged paddy, if still "fit for human consumption" was reclaimed.

When on 1st April, 1945, the C.A.S.(B) made way to the Civil Government, a more elaborate programme of resuscitation of the paddy and rice trade was drawn up. Commercial companies with pre-war experience in rice and paddy were commissioned into the various projects and boards, like the Civil Supplies Board, the Agricultural Projects Board, the Rice and the Timber Projects and the Civil Transport Boards. Loans were given to farmers and cultivators to bring their fallow acreage into cultivation; a bonus was paid on every acre reclaimed; a controlled price was fixed to prevent the paddy and rice

rates from going down, and agricultural implements were imported for farmers.

With India, Malaya and other states in South East Asia literally weeping for food, Burma was not allowed a free trade in this much needed commodity, and export became a monopoly of the International Food Committee. The 1,100,000 tons exportable surplus of 1947 was earmarked for Government export only.

But the picture behind the scenes is far from rosy. Burma's awakening political consciousness now splits the country into political groups, the Anti-Fascist Peoples' Freedom League, the Communists, the Dobama, the Myochit and the Maha Bama parties, under the leaderships of U Aung San, U Than Tun, Thakin Ba Sein, U Saw and Burma's ex Premier, Dr. Ba Maw. Unrest and agitation now run riot in all parts of the country. Labour strikes, shipping strikes, office workers' strikes, police strikes and school strikes succeed each other daily, and crime, murder, and robbery with arms are common events. Capital, previously the monopoly issued by the British and Indian commercial concerns, is now a rare commodity. New companies or even the old firms are chary of long term policies and the reconstruction of their previous businesses, and are adopting a "wait and see" attitude. Investments in Burma, at the moment, are unheard of.

The damage suffered by Burma during the war can only be described as appalling. Every town suffered either total destruction, like Meiktila, or partial damage, like Thaton, where only a complete block in the market area, comprising a quarter of the town, was burnt down. All the larger mills in the seaport towns of Moulmein, Akyab, Bassein and Rangoon were bombed, burnt or charred. Akyab does not possess one single mill now, while pre-war she had over five large mills producing at least five hundred tons per day. Moulmein lost over half her milling capacity.

Burma's rolling stock figures are equally appalling. Some ten to fifteen engines and about 300-400 wagons were the base for the C.A.S.(B) to work on 2,000 miles of railway, while of the Irrawaddy Flotilla Company's inland armada of over a thousand vessels, less than fifty are in commission again.

Nor did the farmer fare better. About 40 per cent. of live stock, especially draught cattle, were slaughtered for meat or used as transport by the retreating Japs into Siam. Agricultural tools, fortunately, were mostly local-made and replaceable. But replacement of live-stock was an impossibility for the impoverished farmer, who even in the heyday of prosperity possessed only a couple of bullocks. With fields unsafe from dacoits' depredations, clothing prices from four to seven times the pre-war level and medicines unheard of, the lot of the farmer is not enviable.

Politics naturally offered a solution and Burma made politics the handle with which to lever redress. In the midst of chaos, when the British government attempted reconstruction by (1) monetary loans of 87 million sterling (2) inducing a flow of consumer goods, (3) replenishing rolling stocks and inland waterways transport. Burma's suffering millions saw in these actions a fresh invasion of the British vested capitalists. With ardour they denounced the restriction on imports and exports as another manifestation of capitalism. Nationalistic feeling overrode economic and commercial considerations and political agitation stopped

all talk about reconstruction until "Complete Independence for Burma" was the only cry heard. All work in the country was paralysed until the Government reshuffled its Executive Council to appoint U Aung San, Head of the Burmese Patriotic Forces and his followers of the Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League as his council. Strikes abated and an understanding between the A.F.P.F.L. leaders and the Governor, Sir Hubert Rance, former chief of Civil Affairs Service (Burma) was achieved. This culminated in the Attlee-Aung San talks in London, when it was agreed that Burma was to have a constituent assembly by direct election and that the Governor's Executive Council constitute the Interim Government of Burma, on the model of the Indian Interim Government. In the realm of external affairs, appointment of a High Commissioner for Burma, H.M.G.'s promise of support to Burma's application for membership in international organisations, agreement in principle that Burma should have financial autonomy, and a further loan to balance this year's budget (apart from £15,500,000, loaned interest free), are terms acceptable to the main party in Burma—the A.F.P.F.L.

But the country is still in unrest, which is seriously affecting the sphere of the rice trade and industry. Government had encouraged agriculture to the extent of expecting an exportable surplus of 1,100,000 tons of rice and rice products. At the time of harvesting alarming reports of crop shortage due to crime, floods, unfavourable weather and insects' damage began to pour in. Appointment by the Government of purchasing agents for rice and rice products in the country, was one matter, while the efficient running of these agencies, some not too experienced in the trade, was another. Insufficient capital in the rice trade, lack of transport, the absence of storage before the monsoons in mid-May and the presence of bandits all armed with firearms were obstacles which defied every step of the process of reconstruction.

At the moment of writing, happily, all strikes have been settled—for how long no one can predict. Every industrial progress in this devastated rice country seems to be burdened with setbacks and hindrance that make reconstruction work a task equal to the cleaning of the Aungmye stables. Loss of several lacs of rupees worth of

telegraph wires having been cut and removed by villagers, banditry on a scale requiring suppression by "Operation Flush" by the combined British and Burmese armies, and minor crimes curtailing and limiting all business enterprises are problems facing Burma's complete recovery in the rice trade. Agriculturists and businessmen want safety for their person and security for their property. They do not know when they will get it as the number of arms left behind, both by the Japanese and British armies is colossal. To the Burmese, dacoity is a calling suited to their temperaments—dangerous, profitable and paying good dividends in notoriety, which is interpreted as fame.

Given peace and security Burma's agriculture must have cheap Indian labour and foreign capital. It is an accepted fact that India controls Burma's rice industry far more than any other foreign country. Three quarters of the paddy lands in Burma are owned by the Chettyars, or South Indian money lending class, who are Burma's chief agricultural landlords. The sizable capital they expend on the land could be computed on that basis. Cheap Indian labour from India also determines yield as well as costs in the production of rice, from ploughing to "free on board steamer" costs at ports. Moreover, India, as Burma's customer of rice and rice products is no mean purchaser and, since the war, Burma in her present role as a debtor country needs all the capital she can raise, not only from India but from other creditor nations.

At the moment prospects of securing outside help seem very small. Indian capitalists are wary and the Indian agriculturist or coolie is not keen to face the depredations of the Burmese bandits, armed with Stens and Brens and Mortars. No business concern in Burma can yet be persuaded to sink capital in the rice industry, which only yields dividends if each of the production stages are unmarred by "accidents." Other obstacles are surmountable. Transport, reclamation of acreage, selection of seeds, milling capacity, stores and storage accommodation, are problems which can be satisfactorily settled.

And so Burma's rice production now marks time for the dawn of peace, security and financial stability. Until that day breaks, prospects of complete recovery are remote.

INDUSTRIAL FUTURE OF HYDERABAD

by Sadeth Ali Khan

THE Dominions of His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad and Berar cover an area of 82,692 square miles and occupy an important position in the geographical map of India. The area of the State is greater than the combined area of the United Kingdom and the Netherlands, and its population of 18 millions is more than the combined population of Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Scotland. Godavary and Krishna, two of the biggest rivers of Peninsular India, flow through the State, with

their tributaries. There are to be found in the State rich deposits of gold, coal, graphite, calcite, quartz, mica, limestone, china clay, and many other valuable minerals, which can be utilised for the industrial development of the Dominions. Conscious of her natural wealth, Hyderabad has entered a period of unprecedented development and expansion in agriculture and industry. The waters of her rivers, turbulent during the monsoons, will be curbed and tamed to serve agriculture and produce electricity, bright-

ening the remotest village of the Dominions. The latent resources, buried away for centuries deep in the recesses of the earth, will be brought out for the benefit of the people.

The first chapter in the history of the industrial development of Hyderabad begins when, at the end of the Great War of 1914, the Nizam, on the advice of his government, established the department of Commerce and Industries. The presence of rich agricultural and mineral resources and the existence of a large local market provided vast opportunities for the development of large scale industries in the State. A crore of rupees, constituting an Industrial Trust Fund, was set aside to aid the various industries of the State. The corpus of this fund which at present exceeds two crores of rupees, is carefully invested in large scale industries, while the profits accruing from these investments are utilised in helping smaller industries by way of loans, grants and technical scholarships. As a result of this policy a number of large modern factories has come into existence, and a still larger number of cottage industries has been saved from extinction. There are, of course, a number of industrial concerns which do not receive direct financial help from the State.

The outbreak of war in Europe created fresh demands and as in other countries of the world the needs and requirements of war were given priority. The first step taken in this direction was the formation of an Industrial Corporation, partly financed by the Government, for large scale manufacture of heavy chemicals, sheet glass and glassware, glucose, starch, casein and other plastics, and a number of industrial concerns, including factories for manufacturing metal goods, starch products, chemicals and fertilizers, and pharmaceutical products and enamel wares were established.

The geological survey covering an area of 38,524 square miles, revealed the rich mineral resources of the State. The most important mineral industry and also the oldest is coal mining. Gold-bearing rocks are found in the Raichur Doab and in Gulberga District. There are extensive limestone deposits in the State, suitable for use as building stone, and for cement manufacture. At present there are quarries producing flat stones for flooring and roofing purposes. The stones are of varied colour and take a fine polish. Good quality graphite, suitable for making crucibles, electrodes and dry lubricants, are found in Warangal District. About 180 tons of graphite have been extracted during the last five years. There are also extensive marble deposits, white, grey and yellow varieties, in varied streaky patterns, giving a pleasing effect when polished. About one hundred thousand tons of marble has been quarried during the past few years. China clay and other varieties of clay, feldspar and quartz occur abundantly, and are suitable for the manufacture of porcelain articles, enamelware, gladd, pottery and pipes. The China clay deposits in Bidar and Asifabad are, at present, being quarried and used for industrial purposes.

Among our various schemes and projects for the prosperity and well being of the country, the pride of place should be given to the Godavary Valley Development Scheme. This scheme has been based on the lines of the

famous Tennessee Valley Authority. Like its great forerunner, it is hoped the Godavary Valley scheme, when translated into action, will completely change the face of the country. A unique feature of the scheme is the creation of a model industrial town, where a number of new industries will be located.

It has been the policy of the Hyderabad Government to save the cottage industries, in this age of machine, from complete extinction. One important cottage industry proposed to be developed in the coming years, is the handloom weaving, dyeing and printing industry. Under a fifteen year plan, which is estimated to cost the Government more than 259 lakhs, it is proposed to establish main demonstration centres and sub-centres at various places in the Dominion. During the first five years 12 main centres and 24 sub-centres will be set up and money will be advanced to the weavers to purchase yarn and appliances needed for the industry. Separate sections for dyeing and printing demonstration and training will also be established. There will also be depots for the supply of yarn and other raw materials and the sale of finished goods.

Hyderabad to-day stands on the threshold of great and far reaching changes in her political, social and economic life. The war, though it heavily taxed the resources of the State, creating new demands and calling for swift decisions, brought in its wake a widespread awakening to a sense of nationhood among her people. The coming years, will see the ordered growth and fruition of the Government's various post-war plans, which as time passes, not only bring prosperity and relief to 18 million people, but also create imperceptibly, a revolution in their mode of thinking. The energies of the people to-day are devoted to achieving this end and they are determined to make the best use of all the natural resources of the country.

AUSTRALIA AND ANTARCTIC WHALING (continued)

The Dutch and the Russians both entered Antarctic whaling for the first time in 1946-1947. How far they will develop their interest in Antarctic ventures is uncertain. The results secured were encouraging. The Russians appear well satisfied with them.

Britain and Norway have joined with Australia in protesting against the permission given to Japan and in objecting to any further concessions in regard to Antarctic whaling being made to the Japanese.

There have been unofficial suggestions that the Norwegians should co-operate with Australia in developing whaling in the Australian sector of the Antarctic seas or should at least use Australian ports as secondary bases for southern whaling, as they now use Capetown and Durban.

When in Sandjefjord, in November, 1946, I found whaling men there interested in these suggestions. They recalled the part that Hobart had played in Captain Larsen's Ross Sea venture, which opened a new era in Norwegian whaling in the Antarctic.

Much depends now on the discussions at the Canberra Conference this month and later on the decision, when the peace treaty with Japan is made, about Australia's claim to Japanese whalers as reparations.

ECONOMIC NOTES

NEW DOMINIONS TRADE WITHIN COMMONWEALTH.

The Australian Federal Government will release 65,000 tons of wheat for shipment to India in the next few months, and it is hoped that further shipments will be arranged if Australia's harvest will come up to expectations. On the other hand, India is now the third most important supplier of goods to Australia. For the ten-month period ending April, 1947, India sold goods to Australia worth £12,170,000 and was exceeded only by the United Kingdom (£55 million) and U.S.A. (£25 million) in Australian import trade.

There are high hopes for Indian-Canadian trade relations. Mr. John D. Kearney, first Canadian High Commissioner to India, stated recently that Canada needed jute, tea and groundnut oil from India, while she could deliver wheat and machinery in exchange.

PRIVATE TRADE WITH JAPAN.

Though no immediate spectacular results can be expected from the introduction of private trade with Japan on August 15th, enquiries from traders have been so lively that the Inter-Allied Trade Board will keep allocations of permits to enter Japan under constant review. In distributing the first 400 permits, the Board considered such factors as pre-war trade with Japan and its volume, the possible contribution to Japanese trade, and the number of representatives from each country who were in Japan before the war. The permits, valid for 21 days, were distributed as follows: United States 102; United Kingdom 64; China 64; Netherlands 27; India 39; Australia 23; France 16; Canada 8; Philippines 6; New Zealand 6; others 45. When private trade commences, imports from Japan will have to be treated as equivalent to dollar imports, with the exception of processing transactions, when raw materials are supplied to Japan for process-

ing on commission. Apart from the understandable desire to resume old connections, some firms hope to conclude considerable business deals in Japan. They will be disappointed, owing to the slow rate of Japan's industrial recovery. Also, the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers reserves cotton textiles, tea and raw silk for governmental trading only. Still, monthly lists are to be issued which will inform traders as to which commodities will be available for export, and which raw materials are required by Japan from private traders. But it will be necessary to limit imports from Japan to the United Kingdom on currency grounds.

AIR TRAFFIC.

A new company, Orient Airways, Ltd., has been licensed by the Government of Burma to carry mails and passengers between Burma and India. A daily passenger service between Rangoon and Calcutta is now in operation, planes following the land route during the monsoon. The actual flying time is four hours with a halt at Akyab.

Hong Kong Airways, Ltd., is another new company, which, as soon as the necessary permits have been negotiated between the British and Chinese Governments, will open services between Hong Kong to Shanghai and to Canton. These developments follow arrangements made in the course of the Colonial Civil Aviation Conference last April. It is hoped that permission for the commencing of the operations will be granted shortly, as they will satisfy an important need for regional air communication to China in connection with the London-Hong Kong route and with the Hong Kong-Singapore service of the British Overseas Airways Corporation. A representative of the B.O.A.C. is now in Hong Kong to investigate whether invitations to participate in Hong Kong Airways, Ltd., is acceptable to the Colony's commercial community. The association of Colonial interests with B.O.A.C. exists in other parts of the world and is proving successful. Through active participation of local interests the needs of the business community can be satisfied, while it at the same time improves co-ordination of regional services with the Commonwealth trunk routes.

The first commercial air trunk service has now been inaugurated between London and Ceylon. The 6,400 mile route is through Castel Benito, Cairo (with a long stop for shopping and sight-seeing), Basra and Karachi. Planes leave the U.K. on Mondays and Ceylon on Saturdays.

TRADE WITH INDONESIA

In his speech at the annual meeting of the British Chamber of Commerce for the Netherlands East Indies, the Chairman, Sir John Hobhouse, M.C., said he was sorry to see that as far as the Indonesian-Dutch relations were concerned, the parties were in most essentials little further forward than they were in 1946. From the outsider's point of view, he said, it could only be regarded as downright wicked to deprive a struggling world of the innumerable productions of Indonesia which it so badly needed, and incredibly stupid to deprive the inhabitants of the islands of the goods and services they could receive in exchange.

Speaking of British interests, he remarked that they were greater than those of any other overseas country except the Netherlands itself, so that a successful outcome of the political difficulties was "of the first importance to Britain." It is difficult to assess the amount of British capital invested in Indonesia, but it is certainly not less than £50,000,000, most of which still remains unproductive nearly two years after VJ Day.

The value of British exports to the Netherlands East Indies in 1939 was approximately £5,000,000, which represented only 7 per cent. of the archipelago's total imports. In that year, Germany's and Japan's shares amounted to 8.7 per cent. and 18.1 per cent. respectively. With Germany and Japan out of the running, the United Kingdom should be able to obtain a considerably larger share of this trade than pre-war. At present, of course, the main problem of British manufacturers is to produce the goods rather than to find the markets. Considerable trade is, nevertheless, taking place and those British manufacturers who take a long view and establish themselves in the N.E.I. market now will naturally be in a better position to meet the inevitable competition than those who do not.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Dear Sir,

Will you allow me to add some information to that given by Miss Barbara Whittingham-Jones on the States of Indonesia in her very good article in your last number of July, 1947?

The number of inhabitants of the State of East-Indonesia is only about one million, compared to the total population of the Republic of Indonesia (Java and Sumatra) of almost 50 million. The President of this State, Tjokorde Rade Gde Sukawati, is a Balinese prince, disliked by his countrymen because he married a European woman, a lady from Paris. He was elected by a parliament consisting of members appointed by the Dutch Lieut.-Governor-General. East-Indonesians would prefer to join the Republic of Indonesia. Some weeks ago there was heavy fighting to the south of Macassar. Many thousands of East-Indonesians were killed by Dutch troops.

The Menadonese and Ambonese provided the Dutch, before the war, with the bulk of their native army. It is doubtful, however, whether they are still disposed to do it now. It may be that Menadonese and Ambonese chiefs, depending on Dutch supremacy, have petitioned Queen Wilhemina for self-government within the frame-work of the Kingdom of the Netherlands. These chiefs, however, are puppets of the Dutch authorities. Menadonese and Ambonese intellectuals are ardent nationalists sympathising with the Republic of Indonesia. Dr. Sitanala, the leader of the republican Red Cross in Java, is an Ambonese. It is possible that Indonesian nationalists will be divided amongst themselves after the departure of the Dutch. As long as Dutch sovereignty exists in Indonesia all Indonesian nationalists will be united by the aspiration for freedom.

The small number of inhabitants of the Borneo States, mentioned by Miss Barbara Whittingham-Jones, makes it clear that these States are of no political importance. A State of Dyaks is ridiculous as most of them are still head-hunters as soon as control becomes slack. Moreover, the rulers of these States have not the faintest notion of democracy. The Sultan of Pontianak was educated in Holland and has become a stranger to his people. In reality he is nothing more than a Dutch civil service officer. Anything that looks like a representation of the people is missing in the Borneo States.

It is comprehensible that the Republic objected to be represented on equal terms with these states in the Interim Government of the Federation of States of Indonesia.

P. E. RANAKAN,

20th July, 1947.

Paris.

Dear Sir,

After reading the article on "The States of Indonesia" written by Miss Barbara Whittingham-Jones in your July issue, I should like to elucidate some points which have moved the Dutch to create puppet states in Indonesia.

The Dutch motive in creating the state of East Indonesia is to show to the world that the whole of Indonesia is not, after all, behind the Republic. It is intended to be used as a potential rival for the purpose of opposing the great influence of the Republic amongst the masses. Thus the Dutch hope that the Indonesians will fight amongst themselves. Their object is to use the East of Indonesia (comprising Celebes, the Moluccas and the Smaller Sundas) to serve as an obstacle to the ultimate aim of the Republic, which is the complete independence of all the Indonesian islands.

For the purpose of their "divide and rule" policy, the Dutch worked hard and gathered many quislings, and succeeded in assembling them at the Malino Conference on the 15th July, 1946, followed by another one in December, 1946, at Den Passar (in Bali). It is a well-known fact that the population are overwhelmingly pro-Republicans, and they have often raised their voice to join the Republic, but the Dutch military occupation forces have suppressed them, and even now fighting is still going on. The Dutch can subdue only places along the coasts. But as soon as the Dutch troops are withdrawn from East Indonesia, the population will no doubt join the Republic at once. Meanwhile, the real leaders in the regions of East Indonesia, like Dr. Ratu Langi, Dr. Kutu Puje and many hundreds who are pro-Republican have been arrested.

The Dutch have continued their imperialistic design by creating another puppet state in West Borneo. A sultan who is a nonentity and without a large following, has been promoted to be the President of the autonomous region. If a plebiscite were to be conducted free from the interference of Dutch bayonets, at least 90 per cent. of the votes would be cast for the Republic.

With the signing of the Linggar-Jati or Cheribon Agreement on 25th March, 1947, the Dutch Government have recognised the de facto authority of the Republic in Java, Sumatra and Madura, and therefore have no right to create disorder by disrupting the unity of the Republic. The most glaring example of Dutch insincerity towards the Agreement is the engineering of the separatist movement called the "Pasundan Party," headed by an obscure man named Kartelagawa, who has been a Dutch civil servant for the last 20 years. This quisling has a very bad record. The Japanese arrested him, not for his political views, but for fraud. His own brother and mother have denounced him as a traitor, and the Pagoyuban Pasundan Party, which is purely Sundanese, strongly opposed his action.

The only solution for the establishment of peace and order in Indonesia, is for the Dutch, who are a very small and poor nation, to evacuate their troops from Indonesia. It will be better for Holland to utilise the three million guilders which are being spent for the maintenance of troops in Indonesia, for the reconstruction of her own country. Then it will be no longer necessary for the Dutch to send representative after representative to America for a loan.

GEORGE HOPKINS,

16th June, 1947.

East Croydon.

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